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727 individual warrior, which is not unlike that of the mediaeval
775 knight or career soldier in our own culture.
782

721 The Aztec reasons for fighting and their social and moral
726 sanctions for war were not so very different from our own, except that we have many more, due to our superior rationalizations. The Aztec military technique, however, was definitely inferior, since it was not so completely developed a social tool as it is our own culture. The basic organization of the army required the participation of every able-bodied man under the direction of the war chief. However, as Aztec society grew more intricate and greater numbers of warriors took the field, the military structure became more rigid.

701 The unit of organization was an aggregation of twenty men, several of which were combined into larger bodies of two to four hundred, roughly corresponding to our platoons and companies. Special detachments of from four to six men, who did scouting and raiding, operated much as do the squads of our own military system. The clan commander marshaled the larger bodies, much as a colonel handles his regiment. The clan troops were banded together in four divisions under the heads of the four municipal quarters, and the tribal war chiefs had the supreme command. In a very numerous army the troops from a given quarter, or *barrio*, were sometimes divided into brigades, composed of the forces from two or three clans.

The high tribal officers, the war chief, the chiefs of the quarters and the clan chiefs commanded the larger bodies. The ordinary chiefs and members of the warrior orders, the Knights of the Eagle and the Tiger and of a third infrequently mentioned order, the Arrow, according to their particular ability, took over the lesser units. In other words,

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714 by the maturer warriors. A tribesman had the right to elaborate his dress in accordance with his prowess, and the great chiefs wore attached to their backs immense frames covered with feathers. Tribes, and even clans, wore special insignia, so that friend could be distinguished from foe and chief from common warrior. The term uniform could hardly be used, since the rich variety and indulgence in individual fancy produced a kaleidoscopic effect in the motley array of bright colors and strange forms.[8]

712 To supply these forces was a very considerable task. Each quarter of the town had its *tlacochcalco*, or house of darts, an arsenal where the military supplies were stored. This was situated near the chief temple, the lofty sides of which made it a natural strong point. At a call to arms the clan leaders could rapidly assemble their men and equip them at these rallying points, which were also centers of the religious and social life of the community.[9]

724 An offensive campaign was a more serious undertaking. Having no beasts of burden, the warriors had to carry their own food with them. Due to the governmental system, wherein each town was independent, the armies did not dare live off the country for fear of inciting revolt and also because most communities lacked the food to sustain a large body of men. Thus, prior to a war, negotiations had to be made whereby supplies could be concentrated and allies brought together at a point as near as possible to the zone of attack. Usually a single battle decided the issue, since the [724] attacking force could not maintain itself in the field for more than a very few days. The calculations necessary to fight a war two or three hundred miles away in Oaxaca, say, were highly complex, and much of the Aztec force on such a cam-

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paign must have been composed of local tribesmen, stiffened with a *garde d'élite* of Tenochcas and Texcocans.

Owing to this difficulty in respect to transport, siege operations were virtually impossible, so that formal fortifications were rare. Some towns were built in very strategic locations, high on a mountainside or in the bend of a river, having access restricted to a narrow neck of land. Tenochtitlan, owing to its situation on the lake, was a natural fort. The causeways were penetrated by canals at intervals, so that removal of the portable bridges created natural barriers. The flat roof tops offered good points from which to harry the enemy in the street below, and the many temples were strong points difficult to reduce. (See Plate 37, top.)

Miles of defensive walls surrounded a site in Tlaxcala, where a ditch backed by a wall enclosed an area of several square miles. At Huexotla,* a fief of Texcoco, a wall at least fifteen feet high still exists and must have had a strong defensive value, although its ostensible purpose was to enclose the area about the main temple. Xochicalco† is situated on a high hill which was intensively terraced, and it was further strengthened by a wide ditch cut through the point of easiest access. Sometimes a site was chosen between two ravines which made impassable obstacles to an attacking force. However, while defensive *purposes* were often taken into account in building towns, strictly defensive *works*, in the nature of fortifications, were seldom undertaken.[10]

Open fighting, the difficulty of keeping up extended campaigns and the informal character of the military force were factors which stultified the development of tactics or strategy. In battle the howling mob which represented the collective

*Way-shō'-tla. †Sho-chi-cā'l-co.

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726 strength of one tribe tried to rout the yelling horde of their adversary, and the first to run lost the battle. Captives were taken, tribute imposed, the temple burned, and the defeated group was then left alone again.

To attain victory more easily surprise attacks, sometimes implemented by a little treachery, were instituted. However, the cumbrous process of getting an army onto the field of battle usually prevented this favored method of warfare. More often the Tenochcas and their allies would feint with a screen of warriors, who would be easily repulsed in a pretended rout. The main body would wait in a place of concealment until the pursuing enemy came into view, whereupon they would charge out and demolish them. Losses were chiefly felt in the number of captives taken, since these short hand-to-hand combats were not very damaging to the
[787] man power of either side. The capture of a chief or the recognition of a sign of evil portent was sufficient to demoralize an army and, despite their bravery and constant experience in warfare of this type, the Aztecs were little fitted to resist soldiers trained in European techniques.

723 There was rather more opportunity for strategy than for battle tactics. Considerable planning, as we have said, was necessary to move troops upon the field of battle. The Aztecs won campaigns in Oaxaca, Puebla, western Mexico and along the Vera Cruz coast, as far north as Tamaulipas.* Having to move step by step and to intimidate or win over town after town, they needed patience and knowledge of geographical and political conditions. One reason for the honor in which merchants were held was the information of this character which they could furnish from their travels.

*Ta-mow-li'e-pas.

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pation in trade and booty far in excess of the apparent size and importance of the town.[11] (See map, end papers; Plates 41, top; 42, top; 43.)

The purely economic and military aspects of war are as crude, when judged by our modern technical standards, as the rest of the purely mechanical aspects of Aztec life. On the other hand, the ritualistic conception of war as the earthly re-enactment of the titanic struggle between opposing forces in nature has a quality almost sublime. The political and economic frictions that brought about conflict were welcomed by the warriors as an opportunity to vibrate to the deep rhythms of nature, rhythms which met in a celestial antiphony in the Sacred War which the Sun fights each day as he, by his own death and sacrifice, ensures the life of man.

The War of Flowers was undertaken to satisfy this yearning when no active campaign was in progress. In this incongruously named ceremonial combat the best warriors from several states met in a very real battle, so that feats of arms could be accomplished and captives taken to satisfy the hunger of the gods. One famous War of Flowers was repeated for several years, and the cream of the fighting men of Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan vied with the might of Cholula, Huexotcingo and Tlaxcala. If a warrior were captured he met the most glorious of deaths in direct sacrifice to the Sun. If he lived he gained renown. If he were slain, he was cremated, an honor reserved only for fighting men and passed on to the special heaven where warriors dwell.[12]

Such warfare had no place in a conflict with Europeans, but, when reduced to fighting for their bare lives against the Spaniards, the Aztecs put up one of the most desperate de-

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fenses in history. It was the last sacrifice, in which Aztec civilization offered up its very existence in an effort to survive. Aztec culture achieved, with Stone Age tools, a civilization patterned to balance the life of man against the dimly perceived forces of the universe. Its downfall was inevitable when confronted with that inexorable European world of steel, objective reasoning and a religion adjusted to meet such totally different concepts as the demands of the powerful and the needs of the weak.

We cannot tell what Aztec civilization might have become. Like all the nations of the past, and of the present too, which have flourished and ultimately withered in death, the Aztecs nurtured within themselves the seeds of their own destruction. But before we turn from their remote splendor to the preoccupations of our modern life let us catch two last glimpses of Aztec civilization: one of the city of Tenochtitlan as the Spaniards first saw it, the other of the Aztecs in their ultimate war, profane and deadly on this final occasion.

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000 a defense carried on with that courage found in forsaken men, in this case abandoned by their very gods. We have seen, in the bitter year of 1940, the same pattern repeated when France collapsed and England found a new strength in despair.

An examination of the Mexican social structure in relation to the psychological state of the Aztec mind shows that the Spaniards arrived at a time very favorable for conquest. Comparison of the Aztec military technique with the European discipline and armament of the day reveals an exceptional opportunity for the triumph of European tactics. To explain the familiar tale of the Conquest from the Indian point of view may throw into sharper relief this conflict between two systems of civilization.

726 Aztec war was highly ceremonial and fought in a spirit very different from the realistic calculation of European strife. The *technical* equipment of the Indians did not meet the requirements of a conflict waged in terms of European military *practice*. Moreover, Cortes arrived at the end of the summer, when the tribes of Mexico were too busy harvesting the crops essential for their survival to think seriously of military affairs. A final factor dooming the Aztecs to inevitable defeat was the political structure of Indian Mexico, which provided no way of converting military success to the establishment of a powerfully consolidated state.

642 The Aztec theocracy did not lend itself to governing or
648 absorbing conquered peoples, although in time a social mechanism might have been developed. While the Aztecs received tribute from over a wide territory, there were constant revolts and betrayals. Probably this same process went on among the other tribal groups in Mexico, so that the politi-

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175 [532]

FIG. 6. Aztec sorcerers, sent from the highland, offer bewitched food to Cortes and his staff, who disdain the viands. *Codex Florentino*

[726] foreign to Indian principles of war. The simple Indian methods of mass attack were of little avail against the maneuvering of a well-drilled force, for the native tactics could only bring the merest fraction of their fighting force in direct contact with the enemy.

[754] The Spaniards also resisted witchcraft on the occasion when Montezuma seriously applied it. However, scorcery, according to native standards, was at best a two-edged weapon, so that it is doubtful if this failure had any other than a confirmatory bearing on the Indian attitude of mind toward the supernatural quality of the Spaniards. The problem that beset Montezuma was not that the invaders were themselves gods, but that they were the symbols, the vicars on earth, as it were, of vast unearthly forces bent on establishing a new social order. As such the Spaniards required the most gingerly handling.[8] (See Fig. 6.)

175 669 When the Spaniards were approaching the capital a political problem entered to complicate the spiritual one. The

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

[726] ments from the army of Narvaez to join the beleaguered troops of Alvarado. The ceremonial aspect of war in Indian Mexico did not envisage the splitting of an adversary's army and the separate destruction of its weakened parts, a rudimentary law of European military tactics.

Yet once the Spaniards were united in the city they ceased to be a military problem and became the emotional focus of the Indians' wrath and fear. They had to shut themselves up in the palace of Axayacatl to resist the force of this uprising in which the whole tribe participated. The Aztecs, having immobilized their enemies, visited their hate and rage in a manner unparalleled in the annals of Indian campaigns. Every citizen joined in hurling missiles at the besieged in-

[532]

Fig. 15. Here the Spanish are dislodging the Aztecs from a temple, where the Indians had gathered to enfilade them. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

175

[532]

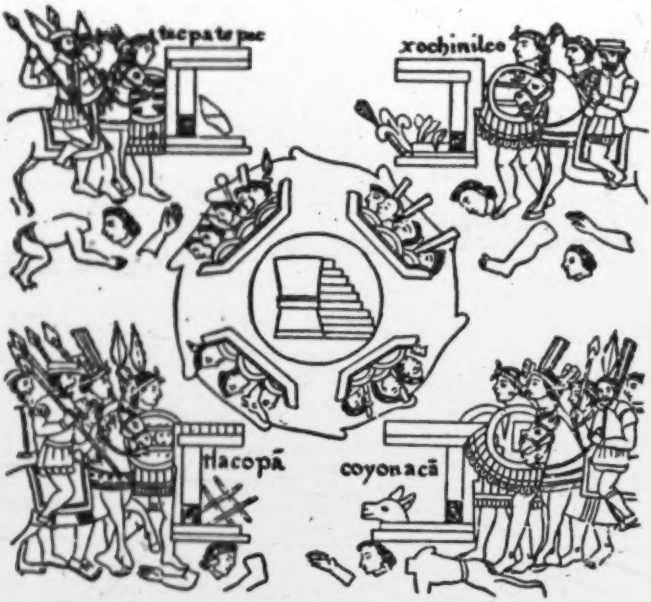


Fig. 20. Cortes' plan to retake Tenochtitlan involved isolating the island city from the mainland. Tenochtitlan is shown in the center of the picture, surrounded by the lake on which float the war canoes of its defenders. The Spanish forces devote themselves to reducing the mainland towns. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

[726]

In each case the Indian war convention of a single decisive mêlée proved worthless against the versatility of the Spanish attack. Cortes soon pacified the eastern country sufficiently to try to regain Tenochtitlan. (See Fig. 19.)

175
648

Typical Indian perfidy, from our point of view today, but common sense to the people of that era, virtually accomplished the downfall of Mexico. The Texcocans, closest allies of the Aztecs, and for that reason perhaps the most jealous

The fifteenth month they named Panquetzaliztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of war, Uitzilopochtli. Before this feast, the priests of the idols fasted for forty days and performed other severe penances, like going naked at midnight to carry branches to the mountains. Etc.

Al quinzeno mes llamauan Panquetzaliztli: En este mes haziã fiesta al dios de la guerra Vitzilobuchtli: antes desta fiesta los satrapas de los ydolos ayunauan quarenta dias y hazian otras penitencias asperas como era yr a la media noche desnudos a lleuar ramos a los montes. Etc.

796X
[805
776
785]

Chapter 15
Panquetzaliztli

On the second day of this month all began to perform a dance and to sing the canticles of Uitzilopochtli in the the courtyard of his pyramid. Men and women danced, all together. They began these canticles in the afternoon, and they ended at nearly ten o'clock. These dances and songs lasted twenty days.

On the ninth day of this month, they adorned, with great ceremonies, those whom they were to slay. They painted them in various colors; they decked them in many papers. Finally they performed a dance with them, in which went a woman paired with a man, singing and dancing.

On the sixteenth day of this month, the owners of the slaves began a fast; and on the nineteenth day, they began to perform a number of dances in which all, men and women, went grasping hands, and they danced winding back and forth in the courtyard of the aforementioned pyramid. A number of old men sang, and played [instruments] while the others danced.

After those who were to die had performed many ceremonies, there came down from the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli one attired in the ornaments of the god Paynal, and he slew four of those slaves in the ball court which was found in the courtyard which they called Teotlachtli. From there he departed and circled all the city, running; and in certain places he slew, in each one, a slave. And from that point [onward], two factions began a mock battle. Some died in the skirmishing.

1. Marginal notation: *Dedicatio Basilicæ salua.*

Cap. 15.
Panquetzaliztli.

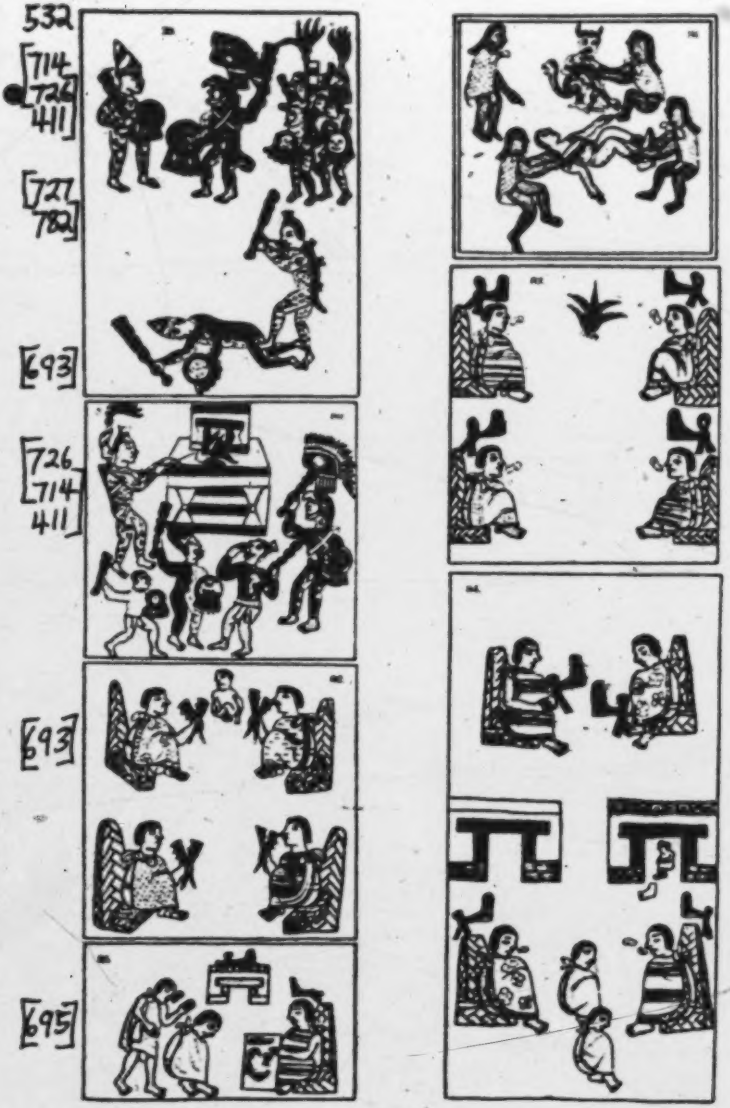
1	e	KL.	e	91	
2	f	El segundo dia deste mes començauã	f	10	796X
3	g	todos a hazer arcyto, y a cantar los can-	g	11	
4	A	tares de Vitzilobuchtli, en el patio de	A	12	535
5	b	su cu, baylauan hombres y mugeres to-	b	13	
6	c	dos juntos: comẽçauan estos cantares	c	14	
7	d	a la tarde, y acabauan cerca de las diez:	d	15	
8	e	durauan estos bayles y cantos veinte	e	16	
9	f	dias.	f	17	
10	g	A los nueue dias deste mes: apare-	g	18	
11	A	jauã cõ grandes cerimonjas a los que	A	19	[302]
12	b	aujan de matar pintauanlos de diuersas	b	20	
13	c	colores, componjãlos con muchos pa-	c	21	
14	d	peles: al fin hazian vn areyte con ellos,	d	22	
15	e	en el qual vyan vna muger y vn hom-	e	23	
16	f	bre pareados cantando y baylãdo.	f	24	
17	g	A los deziseys dias deste mes: co-	g	25	796X
18	A	mençauã a ayunar los dueños de los	A	26	
19	b	esclauos y a los dezinueue dias, comen-	b	27	
20	c	çauan a hazer vnas danças en que yvan	c	28	[595]

todos asidos de las manos hombres y mugeres, y dançauan culebreãdo en el patio del dicho cu, cantauã y tañjan vnos viejos entre tanto que los otros dancauan.

Despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas los que avian de morir decendian del cu de Vitzilobuchtli, vno vestido con los ornamẽtos del dios Paynal, y mataua quatro de aquellos esclauos en el juego de pelota que estaua en el patio que llamauã teutlachtli: de alli yva y cercaua toda la ciudad corriendo, y en ciertas partes mataua en cada vno vn esclauo: y de alli començauan a escaramuçar dos partialidades, murian algunos en la escaramuça.

[346]

[726]



—Ilter Pano y Troncoso

79. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 82-84. Judges (Chapter 17). 85. A trial (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(K)]

[p. 36(J) is blank]

643 701 the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the Otomí, and the noblemen who dwelt in the young men's houses.

721 And when it had come to pass that the ruler adorned them, when he had done this to the brave warriors, then the ruler ordered all the majordomos to bear their goods, all the costly devices, and all the valuable capes there to battle, that the ruler might offer and endow with favors all the [other] rulers, and the noblemen, and the brave warriors, the men [at arms] who were about to go to war, who were to be extended as if made into a wall of men dexterous with arms. And the ruler forthwith called upon the rulers of Texcoco and Tlacopan and the rulers in all the swamp lands, and notified them to proclaim war in order to destroy a [certain] city. He presented them all with costly capes, and he gave them all insignia of great price. Then he also ordered the common folk[2] to rise to go forth to war. Before them would go marching the brave warriors, the men [at arms], the lord general, and the commanding general.

●726 The lords of the sun, it was said, took charge and directed in war. All the priests, the keepers of the gods, took the lead; they bore their gods upon their backs, and, by the space of one day, marched ahead of all the brave warriors and the seasoned warriors. These also marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tenochtitlan. Again these marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tlatilulco. These also marched one day ahead of all the men of Acolhuacan, who likewise marched one day ahead of all the Tepaneca, who similarly marched one day ahead of the men of Xilotepec; and these also marched one day ahead of all the so-called Quaquata. In like manner the [men of] other cities were disposed. They followed the road slowly and carefully.

And when the warlike lands[3] were reached, the brave warrior generals and commanding generals then showed the others the way and arranged them in order. No one might break ranks or crowd in among the others; they would then and there slay or beat whoever would bring confusion or crowd in among the others. All the warriors were extended there, until the moment that Yacauitztli, [god of] the night, would descend—that darkness would fall.

tiacahoan, in oquichtin, in tequjoaque, in quaquachicti, in otomj: ioan in telpuchnemj in pipilti.

auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencauh tlatoanj, in tiacauh, in iuh oquichiuh. Niman quinnaoatia, in tlatoanj: in jxquichtin calpixque, inic intlatquj ietiaz; in jxquich tlaçotlanquj, tlaujztli: ioan in jxquich tlaçotilmatli, in vmpa iauc, in quinmacaz, in quintlauhtiz, in tlatoanj: In jxquichtin tlatoque, ioan in pipilti, ioan in tiacahoan, in oquichtin in iauteoatoque, in iuhquj oçelotenanti, quauhtenanti mochiuhtoque: ioan in tlatoanj, achto quinnotza in tlatoanj tetzcuco, ioan tlacopan: ioan in jxquich chinanpanecatl in tlatoque, quincaquitia, inic iautlatoa, inic poliujz ce altepetl: quintlauhtia, in jxquich tlaçotilmatli, ioan quinmaca, in jxquich tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli. Niman no ic quinnaoatia: in jxquich in jmaçeoal, inic iauquiçatiuh: impan hicatiuj in tiacaoan, in oquichtin, in tlacochcalcatl tecutli, ioan tlacateccatl,

tonatiuh itlatocahoan mjtoaia, qujiacana in qujujca iauc, iacattiuj in ixquichtin tlamacazque, in teupixque, quinmama in jntevoan cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in ixquichtin tiacahoan, in tequjoaque, no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxquich iauqujzquj in tenochcatl, no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxquich iauqujzquj tlatilulcatl: no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxquich aculhuacatl: no cemjlhujtl qujtztiuj, in jxquich tepanecatl, no cemjlhujtl qujtztiuj, ixilotepecatl: no cemjlhujtl q'mjtztiuj, in jxquich moquataitoa: çan no iuj in oc cequj altepetl, motetecpana, iujian, iocuxca, in otlatoca.

Auh in jcoac, oaxioac teuatenpan, tlachinoltempan, in iehoantin tiacaoan tlatlacuchcalca, tlatlacatecca njman teumaca, tetecpana, aiac vel tepanauja, aiac vel tetlan qujça, çan njmon vncâ qujnmjctia, qujnujujtequj, in aquin tlaixneloznequj: tetlan qujçaznequj, in oommoten ixquich iauqujzquj, in ie inman in ocalhuetz acaujztli, in tlaioalli inic tlaiooalcujoaz: auh in jcoac ie itech nequetzaloz, in altepetl poliujz, achto oc cenca mochiia in tletl, in quenman cue-

[687]

2. The corresponding Spanish passage reads: "Mandaua luego, a los calpixques, que llevasen armas, a todos los principales, para sí, y para sus soldados: y entonces lo mesticoua a su gente, y les daua armas."

3. Teuatenpan, tlachinoltempan: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, p. 103 (lugares para la guerra ordenados), and p. 105 (los lugares de las batallas).

And when they already were to rise against the city to destroy it, first was awaited tensely the moment when fire flared up—when the priests brought forth [new] fire—and for the blowing of shell trumpets, when the priests blew them.

And when the fire flared up, then as one arose all the warriors. War cries were raised; there was fighting. They shot fiery arrows into the temples.

And when they first took a captive, one fated to die, forthwith they slew him there before the gods; they slashed his breast open with a flint knife.

And when the city had been overcome, thereupon were counted as many captives as there were, and as many Mexicans and Tlatilulcans as had died. Then they apprised the ruler that they had been orphaned for the sake of Uitzilopochtli; that men had been taken captive and been slain. And the ruler then commanded the high judges to go to tell and inform all in the homes of those who had gone to die in war, that there might be weeping in the homes of those who had gone to war to die. And they informed those in the homes of as many as had gone to take captives in war that they had received honors there because of their valor. And they were rewarded according to their merits; the ruler accorded favors to all—costly capes, breech clouts, chocolate, food, and devices, and lip rods and ear plugs. Even more did the ruler accord favors to the princes if they had taken captives. He gave them the offices of stewards, and all wealth without price—honor, fame, renown.

And if some had done wrong in battle, they then and there slew them on the battlefield; they beat them, they stoned them.

And if several claimed one captive, and one man said, "He is my captive," and another man also said, "He is my captive": if no man verified it, and also if no one saw how they had taken the captive, the lord of the sun decided between them. If neither had an advantage of the two who claimed the captive, then those who had taken four captives, the masters of the captives, decided that to neither one would the captive belong. He was dedicated to the Uitzcalco[4] [or] they left him to the tribal temple, the house of the devil.

And when the city which they had destroyed was attained, at once was set the tribute, the impost. [To the ruler who had conquered them] they gave that

ponjz: injc tlequauhtlaça tlamacazque: ioã in tlapitzalli in tecuciztli, in oquipitzque tlamacazque: 726

ioan in ocuepon tletl, njman ic cemeoa, in jxqujch iuquizquj, motempapauja, mjcali, qujtlemjna in teucalli.

Auh in achto in caçi malli in maliacatl, çan njman vncan, imjxpan qujmjctia, in teteu, tecpatica queltetequi.

Auh in jcoac ompoliuh altepetl, njmã ie ic nemalpoalo, in quexqujch malli: ioan in quexqujch omjc mexicatl, in tlatilulcatl, njman muchi qujcaqujtia in tlatoanj, injc tepal oicnopiltic vitzilobuchtli injc otlamaloc, ioan omjcoac: auh in tlatoanj njman qujnnaoatia, in tecutlatoque: injc qujtemachtitiuj, injc qujtecaqujtititiuj, in jnchan in jzqujnti, oiaumjqujto, injc choqujlilozque in jnchachan, in oiaumjqujto: ioan qujtecaqujtia in jnchan, in quezquj otlamato iauc, ic vncan qujcujia in maujziotl, in jpampa oqujchiotl: ioan qujmomaceujaia in jxqujch iteicneliaia in tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli, in maxtlatl, in atl, tlaqualli, ioan tlaujztli, ioan teçacatl, nacochtli: oc cenca qujmjcneliaia in tlaçopipilti, in tlatoanj intla otlamato, qujmaca calpixcantli: ioan in jxqujch tlaçotli necujltonolli, in maujziotl, in tleiotl, in teiotl. 727 [555]

Auh intla acame qujtlacoa iauiotl, njman vmpa qujntmjctia in iauc qujnviujtequj, qujntetepachoa. 687

Auh intla acame, qujmocujcujlia ce malli, qujtoa ce tlacatl, ca nomal, in oc ce tlacatl no qujtoa ca nomal: intlacamo ce tlacatl itech nelti, aiac no qujmjttac, in quenjn tlamasque: iehoantin qujntlatzontequjlia, in tonatiuh itlatocahoan: aiac tle onquiça in jmomextin in qujmocujcujlia in malli: iuh qujtzontequj, in quauhtlatoque, in mallatoque, aiac ce itech pouhquj iez in malli: vitzcalli qujpoaia, calpolco qujcaoaia, in jchan tlacateculotl. 727

Auh in jcoac oaxioac altepetl in ovmpoliuh, njman icoac mextlalia, in tequjtl, in tlacalaqujlli itech mana in tlein vmpa muchioa, auh njman no iquac ixque- 728 651

4. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 301-302, referring to the *barrio* of Cuauhtitlan, whose slaves fought and died in sacrifice: "Este era en el patio del templo que se dice Uitzcalco."

643 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground
533 drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And
534 [he appointed the kind of] dance, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

643 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided]
535 the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed him-
292 self, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal
301 feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech clout he girt himself.

565 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all
535 the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges, and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

687 And if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song; or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how
726 he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become besotted. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was done: perhaps the priest

veuetl: ioan in ixquich maçeoallatquitl, ioan netotiliztli, aquin cujcaitoz, aquique in teiacanazque, aquin teponaçoz, aquin veuetzonaz, mochi achto mocencaoaia injc atle itlacaujz.

Auh in ie icoac maçeoa tlatoanj, in tlein ilhujtl ipan mocencaoa, mochichioa quetzallalpilonj coztic teucujtlaio, injc quilpia itzon, coztic teçacatl, anoço chalchiuhtentetl in conaquja itenco, coztic teucujtlatilcochtli, in caquja inacazco: auh in cozcatl conteca, aço chalchiuhcozcatl, anoço cozcapetlatl, teuxiujtl itlaactoc, macuextli imac quitlalia vei chalchiujtl ipan ca anoço vej teuxiujtl, anèço coztic teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalecaceoaztli, tlaçotlanquj injc mjtotia injc maceoa, tlaçotilmatli in quimololoa, in quimoquentia, tlaçomaxtlatl in quimomaxtlatia,

njman ic no quicencaoa quintlauhtia: in ixquichtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, in oquichti, tiiacaoan, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiiacaoan oquichtin, ioan tiachcaoan, ioan cujcanjme, ioan quinmaca in jiauh, in jtlaqual tlatoanj in jzquitlamantin omoteneuhque.

Auh intla itla quitlacoa cujcanjme: aço teponaztli quichalanja, anoço veuetl, anoço cujcaitoa, quipoloa cujcatl: anoço teiacana, in quipoloa netotiliztli: njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco contlalia in aquin tlatlacoa, quitzacutiuh mjquja.

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncā mjtoa injc ixtoçoaia in aquin tlatoanj, injc tlapiaia in ioaltica: ioan in cemjlhujtl in jpāpa iauiotl.

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocujtlaujaia in iautlapializtli, ioan altepepializtli, cemjlhujtl ceioal, ic tlatlaquauhnaoatiaia, injc cenca tlapialoz ma quenmanjan atenemachpan iauiaoalolo in altepetl mexico, aço cana ica neçentlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa cenca ixtoçoaia in tlatoanj, amo tlaoanaia, iioma in iohoaltica quenmanjan quiçaia quijaoaloa in altepetl quitta tlein muchioa, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacazquj in tiachcauh aço ie necujtlaujlo in mjxitl in tlapatl in octli ioan oc cenca quintlaquauhnaoatiaia in tlatoanj

or the master of the youths were not keeping watch, having already become addlepated.[10] And the ruler most sternly commanded that all the seasoned warriors and lords keep watch all day and all night in warlike lands and be concerned to be a rampart of men dexterous at arms in enemy paths. And they were to apprehend and seize informers who had entered here in secret, who walked about the city. And they perceived when war was to be proclaimed. And when war already was declared, then they hastened to enter [their city] to warn their lords so that then they would ready themselves for guarding against the foe.

And if informers[11] were seized, they were slain; they were beaten, because of what they made known. And if it were noted that some knew the Mexicans and were living with them in their homes, they also imprisoned the informers of the ruler's foes, with the householders who had been plotting with them, and their children, and plundered their goods, so that nothing[12] was to be seen in their homes.

And likewise the ruler urged strongly that watch be kept within the city, all day and all night, lest someone betray the city, lest it might be surrounded by enemies. And therefore sometimes the ruler and the city would march forth. And the ruler commanded that rulers of the youths, the brave warriors, and all the youths, each day, at night, should sing and dance, so that all the cities which lay around Mexico should hear. For the ruler slept not, nor any of the Mexicans.

And when it was deep night, then the priests of Tenochtitlan and of Tlatilulco, and [men from] all the hamlets [nearby], blew shell trumpets and beat two-toned drums. Then all the priests went forth. Everywhere they performed penances all about the mountain tops. And thus they kept watch lest they come upon something. [When] already it grew light, they went into [the city]. Thus they kept guard each night; thus did they do.

in jxqujchtin iauteoaque in tlatoque icemjlhujtl 643
içeioual tlapiazque, in teuatenpan in tlachinoltempā, 726
in qujmocujtlauizque oçelotenamjtl, qüauhtenamjtl,
in iauoth: ioan qujmanazque qujntzitzqujzque in
tetlan nenque in ichtaca oalcalaquj in qujoalnemilia
altepetl, ioan oallapia in jqujn iautlatoloz, auh in
oqujcacque ca ie iautlatolo: njman calactiuetzi in
connonotza intlatocauh inic njman no moçencaoa
iautlapializtica.

Auh intla ano tetlanenque, mjctilo, tetzotzonalo 687
inca nenonotzalo. Auh intla macho, ca acame qujmati in mexica in inchan oalmocallotia, in tetlanenque in jiaohoan no qujtzacutiuja; inca nenonotzaloia in chaneque, ioā in jnpilhoan, ioan namoieloia in intlatquj atl neneçia in inchan.

Auh çan no iuhquj cenca ipan tlatoaia in tlatoanj 643
injc cenca tlapialoz in jitic altepetl, icemjlhujtl, 726
çeioal, in ma aca qujtlachichiujli altepetl, in ma 722
iauiaoalolo quenmanjan, auh injc icatiaz tlatoanj,
ioan altepetl qujnnaoatiaia in tlatoanj in telpüchtla-
toque, in tiacahoan: ioan in ixqujch telpuchtli, injc [533]
momoztlae ioaltica cujcoanozque, injc qujoalcaqujz
ixqujch altepetl, in qujiaoalotoc mexico: ca amo
cochi in tlatoanj, ioan ixqujch mexicatl.

Auh in jquac tlaquauhtlapoiaoa: njman tlapitza, 722
ioan teponaçohoa, in tlamacazque tenochca, ioan
tlatilulca: ioan ixqujch altepemaitl, icoac qüiça in
jxqujchtin tlamacazque, noujian in ontlamaçeoa
noujian tepeticpac, ioan ic ontlapia in aço itla quj-
namjqujtiuj ie tlatujnaoac ỹ oalcalaquja injc ontla-
piaia çeçeioal iuh qujchioaia.

10. *Simēon, op. cit.*, identifies *mizti* as an intoxicating plant, and *tlapal* as *Bixinus communis*, a medicinal plant. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 223, has: *los Hazer a otro vellaco, o dar mal consejo: Mizti, tlapal, conauzcaqui, nonauel nictotiteuani. . . .*; for *Embarrachar, o sabo de seso: Ytech pano: "Yo titictotiteuiz, in timelzcuauhtotiteuiz: in jnhqui mjztl, in jnhqui tlapal otiqui. Itechjn mjtoaia: in aquin oiocmo quiçaquiznequi teuetemolinili: ca inhqui in mo tlacaneqi, mo tlapal oquiçaz: injc nenqui: oiocmo quiçaznequi in tlein ic nonotzalotia: ipampa injc aiaia, in amo nonotzalo: ilnilnia. Tlein mach otiçqui, tlein mach otiçpopolo: aiac ed mjtzcoua, aiocmo quidalcauia in mocallo: in aiocmo tiezqui, tiezua in tlacotli."* The corresponding Spanish text reads: *"Esto lleva quiere dezir, Andas azotando y dando palmadas en el pecho como hombre que a comido bellacos. Por metaphora se dize: de aquel que siendo trauieso y desbaratado en la mocidad, siendo corregido, no se quiere enmendar: y a este tal dizenle que se beuido que se comido que ninguna buena enseña resciue su coraçon."*

11. *Tetlan nenque*: seemingly, according to Simēon, *op. cit. Tetlanenmini*, however, in Molina, *op. cit.*, is translated as *chismero or malsin* (gossip, talebearer; hence, possibly, informer).

12. *Ad*: probably *ade* is meant.

of Uexotzinco,[8] and the lords of foreign lands, and the lords of Tzapotlan, and the lords of Anauac, and the ruler of Tehuantepec, and all the lords posted on the shores of the oceans, and all the lords of the cities encircling Mexico—the ruler of Texcoco and the ruler of Tlacopan.

And when all the invited lords had assembled—[both] friendly and unfriendly lords—he provided them food. He gave them drink and food; costly goods he gave them all: capes without price, and valuable breech clouts, and devices, and costly shields. There was dancing; there was a procession; there was singing, night and day, as the ruler provided them solace.

And at that time he also gave gifts to all the noblemen, brave warriors, and lords, and judges, and rulers of the youths, and all the singers, and all the keepers of the gods, fire priests, and [other] priests.

And when the feast ended, then all the bidden guests departed.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler adorned himself when he was to war upon some city.

And then, when some days had passed, the ruler proclaimed war—that they would go to set forth somewhere to war. He gave costly devices and shields to the noblemen and to all the brave warriors and men [at arms]. And the ruler himself went to war. To set forth to battle and to conquer, he took all the warriors, and the lords of all the cities about, that they might set forth to war and conquest. And when they had gone forth to conquer and to wage war, they rejoiced greatly over the number of captives whom they had taken, since they would slay them all before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order with them to observe his feast. And he accorded honor to all the brave warriors and captors; with many things did he favor them. He gave them costly capes, and breech clouts, and long labrets, and head bands; and he gave them titles by which they would be honored and obeyed as men [at arms] and brave warriors.

toque, ioan tzapotlan tlatoque, ioan anaoac tlatoque, 643
ioan tequantepec tlatoanj: ioan in jxqujchtin tla- 527
toque, ilhujcaatentli qujtztoque, ioan in jxqujchtin- 648
tlatoque in altepetl ipan, qujiaoalotoque mexico, tetz-
cuco tlatoanj, ioan tlacopan tlatoanj.

Auh in jcoac ocenqujzque in jxqujchtin tlacoa-
notzaltin tlatoque, in jicnihoan tlatoque ioan iiau-
hoan: njman ic qujntlaqualtia, qujnmaca in atl, in
tlaqualli, tlaçotlanquj, qujntlauhtia in jxqujch tlaço-
tilmatli, ioan tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, ioan tlaço-
tlanquj chimalli, netotilo maceoalo, cujco, ceioal
cemjlhujtl, in tepaqujltia tlatoanj,

auh in jcoac no qujntlauhtia, in jxqujchtin pipiltin, [431]
tiacaoā, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tel-
puchtlatoque, ioan ixqujchtin cujcanjme, ioan ix-
qujchtin teupixque tlenamacaque, tlamacazque:
auh in otzonqujz tecoanotzaliztli, njman ic om-
peoa in jxqujchtin tlacoanotzalti.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, 643
in quenjn mocencaoaia, in tlatoanj, injc cana iautiz, 292
altepetl ipan.
Auh çan njman iquezqujlujioc, iaotlatoa in tla- 726
toanj, injc cana iauqujxoalotiuh, qujntlauhtia in 724
tlaujztli tlaçotlanquj ioan chimalli im pipilti, ioan in
jxqujchtin tiacahoan, oqujchti: auh iioma in tlatoanj
in iauh iauc, in oniaoqujça, in ontepeoa qujujca in
jxqujchti iauqujzque, ioan in noujian tlatoque alte-
petl ipan inic oiaoqujça, ontepeoa: auh in jcoac
ōtepeoato, oiaoqujçato cenca paquj, in quexqujch
malli ocanato, injc mochintin ixpan vitzilopuchtli
qujnmjctiaia, inic inca ilhujqujxtiaia. Auh in ix-
qujchtin tiacaoan, tlamanjme, qujnmaujziotia, mjiec
tlamātli injc qujmjcnelia, qujntlauhtia in tlaçotil-
matli, ioan maxtlatl, ioan teçacatl, ioan tlalpilonj,
ioan qujntocamaca injc maujztililozque, injc tlaca-
machozque, injc oqujchti, tiacaboā.

8. In *ibid.*, *uexotzinco dunque* is followed by *yoan mjmixquen dunque*, and *rulers of the Mixteca country*.

[p. 66 is blank]

65

701 721 their estate as men dexterous in war, as men of valor, as chieftains. Thus none, when they went, might take account that they might die. [For] if war were not proclaimed, if they were not to go off to die, none might know for how much time they might live. And if war were proclaimed, then set forth together the assembled men of Mexico. The generals and the commanding generals led them. When they reached the place which they were to conquer, upon the next day they disposed them in battle array.

imoceloyo inic oquichti inic tiacauã. inic ayac ỹ uiui ça quipopouhtinemi in immiquiz. im ma ualmihto yaoyotl im ma ommiquiti ma oce ontlamati in oc quesquich cauitl nemizqz, auh intla oualmihto yaoyotl nimã cemolini i ye istlacatl mexicatl. in teyacana tlatlacochcalca. tlatlacatecca in oacito in ōpa tepeuazqz. oc cemilhuipã ĩ yaoteca.

726 687 And there on the battlefield went the shorn ones in pairs. The Otomí [warriors] also went in pairs. If one of the shorn ones died in the fray and if the other of the shorn ones turned tail, then Moctezuma [had an official] take after him. No more might he enter the Eagle House; they kept him shut away in his [own] house. Of no further use was he. And they suspended the shorn one. And in the same way they exacted penalty of Otomí [warriors] if one of them died [in battle] and if the other fled. They took after him; they suspended him as chieftain. And also they deprived him of rank if he showed fear.

auh i ye ompa yaoc. ommettitiui in quaquachicti. no ommettitiui. in otomi. intla ce oyaomic quachic. intla oc ce ualmocuepa quachiqz. niman ic quitohtocaya i motecoçcoma. aocmo calaqz in q̃uhcali. ça iccen quicallatiaya. aocca moneqz. auh q'caualtiaya inic quachic. Auh çan ye no iuh q'ntlatzacuiltiaya in otomi intla çan no ce omic intla oc ce ualmocuepa. quitohtoca quicaualtia inic tiacauh. auh no quicaualtia inic otlamamauhtiaya.

All with which they had bedight him—the precious capes and costly breech clouts—no longer could he assume. He might put on only a poor maguey fiber cape or a wretched yucca fiber cape, as he deserved.

in isquich in itech oq'tlaliaya in tlaçotilmahtli. in tlãçomastlatl. aoc tle quicui. ça ichtilmahtzintli. anoço icçotilmahtzintli. in q'mulpilia. inic quitlamahcecualmacaya.

701 431 643 And perhaps in a year or two [Moctezuma] remembered him, sought him out, and drew him from his home. And when he went before Moctezuma, thereupon he gave him again the devices, perhaps [ornamented] with quetzal feathers or with gold. Then [the ruler] gave him gifts: he presented him a bundle of capes, and provided him with grains of maize—he gave him a canoe full of maize grains: and he provided him with *chía*—he weighed out two large measures of *chía*. And thereafter once again he placed himself among [those in] the Eagle House, because he merited once more assuming all the costly capes and breech clouts and all the honors which were his.

auh in quilnamiquia açō ce xiuitl anoço ōxiuitl. in quitemouaya. ychan in q'ualanaya. auh in ōya ispã motecuiçoma. nimã ye ic q'ualmaca in tlauiztli açɔ quetzallo. anoço teocuitlayo. niman quitlauhtia, cen q'milli in q'maca tilmatli. yuã quitlaoltia cem acalli in q'maca tlaolli yuan quichientia. açɔ ontetl y uey tzincopinq' ic q'tamachiua chien. auh quí ye no ceppa yquac tetlan motlalia in q̃uhcali. ypampa ca ontlamahceuh oc ceppa mochi q'cui in tlaçotilmahtli in tlaçomastlatl. in isq'ch ytech poui in imauizço.

701 726 And if, as a shorn one, or as an Otomí [warrior], he were to take a captive there at Atlixco or at Uexotzinco, much was Moctezuma's heart gladdened thereby. And all the lords were happy because of it; they were pleased and rejoiced therefor, that those who were shorn ones or Otomí [warriors] had taken captives: because men dexterous in war had surrounded [the foe].

Auh intla yquachicyo intla yotōyo ypan otlama in ompa atlisco anoço uexotzinco oc cenca ic paquia in iyollo motecuiçoma. yuan in isquichtin tlahtoqz ic papaqz ic motlamachtiaya ic ahuiaya. in oypan tlamahqz inquachicyo in imotōyo. ỹpãpa ca oquimiauayotito in quauhyotl in oceloyotl.

Fourteenth Chapter, in which it is told how Moctezuma ordered closed the road, so that the Spaniards might not come to arrive here in Mexico.

And Moctezuma had vainly commanded that they obstruct the road; that with maguey they plant the highway which led direct here to Mexico; and that there they be shown the road which led to and entered Teacoco.

And when they had blocked the way with rows of maguey, [the Spaniards] then learned of it and saw that they had only closed the way. They thought nothing of it. They took [the plants] up; they kicked each one far; they hurled them out. Far off they cast the maguey plants.

They slept at Amaquemecan.[1] Then they went on, direct, along the road and came to reach Cuitlauac. There also they slept.

Assembling from all parts the rulers who held sway over the people of the floating gardens — Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, Mizquic — they spoke to them just as they had spoken to the rulers of Chalco. And these rulers of the dwellers in the floating gardens then also submitted.

And when the Spaniards had been satisfied, then they moved on and settled themselves at Itztapalapan. Thereupon they called for and sought the rulers known as the Four Lords — [those of] Itztapalapan, Mexicatzinco, Colhuacan, and Uitzilopochco. In the same manner they spoke to and addressed them (as hath been told). And just so they peacefully and quietly submitted to the Spaniards.

And Moctezuma commanded that none make war upon them nor contend against and meet them in battle. He ordered only that they not neglect [the Spaniards' needs]; that great care be taken of them.

And upon this, here in Mexico, all lay quiet; [the people] did not go out or venture forth. Mothers did not let [children] go out. The roads were empty, and clear; the roads were clean, as in early morning.

1. Details are to be found in Chimalpahin, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-188.

Injc matlactli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma tlanaoati in motzatzaquaz vtli injc amo vel aciqujvi Españoles, in njcā mexico. 726

Auh in Motecuçoma, oc nen tlanaoatica in qujtzatzaquazque in vtli, in vchpantli, qujmetecaque in oallamelauhticac njcā Mexico: auh ie vmpa qujmontlachieltiaia, in jpan vtli iaticac, calacticac tetzcucu.

Auh in vncan qujmetepātzacca: njman qujmatque, qujttaque in çan oqujtzatzacque, atle ipan conjttaque, caanque, veca conxoxopeuhque, quioalchichitotzque, veca ica ommamaiauhque in metl: 000

vncā cochque amaquemecan, njmā ie ic vitze, tlamelauhtivitze, qujmelauhtivitze in vtli, acico in cuitlaoac, çan oc no vncan cochque: 648

in oqujncentlalique tlatoque, in jzqujcan tlatocachioa injc chinānpaneca in Suchmjlco in cujtlaoac, in mjzqujc: çan ie no ivi in qujmjlhujque, in juh qujmjlhujque chalcatlatoque. Auh in iehoanti chinanpaneca tlatoque, çan njmā no intlan oncalacque.

Auh in oiniollo vmpachiuh, in Españoles: njman ic oalolinque ommotlalico in jtztapalapan: njman ie no ic qujnnotza, qujnnenotzallanj in tlatoque: Nauhtecutli mjtoa. In jtztapalapan, Mexicatzinco, culhoacan, Vitzilobuchco: çā ie no ie in qujmjlhujque, injc qujntlatoltique (in oiuh mjto). Auh çan no ivian, iocuxca intlan oncalacque in Españoles.

Auh in Motecuçomatzin, amo tlanaoatiaia injc aca qujniauchioaz, injc aca iauiotica qujnnamjqujz, aiac iauiotica qujnnamjqujz, çan tlanaoatiaia, injc amo çan tlacomachozque, ça cenca inca nechioaloz.

Auh in jquac y, in njcan Mexico, ça iuhqujn cactoc, aocac oalqujça, aocac oalqujztica. In tenanhoan aocmo oaltequjxtitlanj, ça chichipaoaticac in vtli, ichpelpul icac, ça ichpeliuhticac in vtli, ça iuhqujn tlal-

Then all the dwellers in cities beyond the mountains—those of Tlaxcalla, of Tliliuhquitepetl, of Uexotzinco—sped along at the rear. They came girt for war, with their cotton armor, their shields, their bows; their quivers filled and crammed with feathered arrows, some of barbed, wooden points, some blunted, some with obsidian points. They came crouching, and as they went, loosed cries and shrieks while striking their mouths with their hands; they screeched and whistled, and shook their heads.

And some bore burdens upon their backs; they carried rations on their backs. Some carried things [held by a tump line about] their foreheads, or, some, their breasts; some bore things on carrying frames, some in cage-like baskets, some in deep, reed baskets; some bore bundles; they carried them upon their backs; some dragged the great lombard guns, which rested upon wooden wheels. And they moved them along shouting.

njman ie ixquich in aoatepeoa, in tlateputzcatl, in tlaxcaltecatl, tliliuhquitepecatl, in vexotzincatl: tlatoqujlitivitze, moiauchichiuhtivitze imjichcavipil, inchichimal, intlatlavitol, inmjmjcon tetentiuh, cacatzcatiuh in totomjtl, cequj chichiqujlli, cequj tihpontli, cequj itzmjtl momamantivi, motenvitectivi, motenpapavitivi, tocujleuhtivi, tlatlanqujqujztivi, moquacuecuechotivi. 648 726

Auh in cequjntin tlamama, itacamama, cequjntin tlaixquamama, cequjntin tlaelpanmama, cequjntin tlacacaxvia, cequjntin tlaoacalhuja, cequjntin tlatompiavia, cequjntin tlaqujmjlhuja, manoço tlaqujmjlmamama, cequjntin quivilana in vevei, in totomaoac tlequjqujztli, quauhtemalacac oonotiuh, qujcavatztivitze. 648 726 482

[p. 40 is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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[726]

[728]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

29. The road to Tenochtitlan is sown with maguey plants (Chapter 14). 30. Spaniards receive the submission of two of the Four Lords (Chapter 14). 31-36. Spaniards on the march from Iztapalapan to Tenochtitlan (Chapter 15).

[p.44(F)]

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●726
[764]

[502]

[764]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

86. Burning of Moctezuma's body (Chapter 23). 87. Itzquauhtzin's body is carried away (Chapter 23). 88. Burning of Itzquauhtzin's body (Chapter 23). 89. Spaniards set forth from their quarters in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 90. Spaniards are detected leaving (Chapter 24). 91-93. Flight from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 24). 94. People of Tecaltheyacan comfort the Spaniards (Chapter 25).

[p. 44 (N)]

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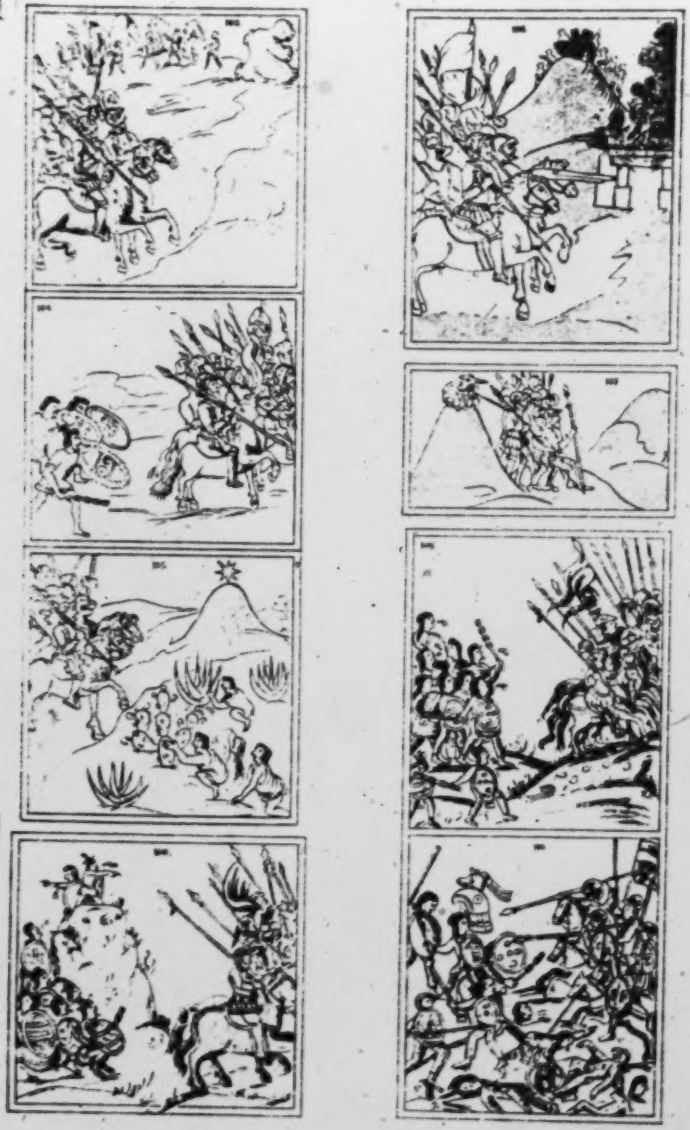

● [726
714]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

103. Spaniards reach Tepotzotlan (Chapter 26). 104. Mexican warriors pursue the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 105. Spaniards reach Cuitlahuac (Chapter 26). 106. Spaniards reach Xoloc (Chapter 26). 107. Spaniards reach Aztaquemecan (Chapter 26). 108. Mexicans on mountain-top watch for the departure of the Spaniards (Chapter 27). 109, 110. Battle at Mt. Tonan (Chapter 27).

[p. 44 (P)]

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[502]

[701
502]

— *After Paso y Troncoso*

119. Spaniards attack Çaquiapan (Chapter 30). 120. Spaniards crumble the wall at Xolloco (Chapter 30). 121. Fighting at Xolloco (Chapter 30). 122. Spaniards pierce the wall at Uitzilan (Chapter 31). 123. Allies of the Spaniards fill the canals (Chapter 31). 124. Spanish horsemen ride in at Uitzilan (Chapter 31). 125. Spanish horseman spears a Tlatilulcan (Chapter 31). 126. Mexican warriors unhorse and kill the Spaniard (Chapter 31). 127. Shorn ones land from warboats (Chapter 31).

[p. 44(R)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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726

—*Aftor Paso y Troncoso*

128. Spaniards are attacked on both sides (Chapter 31). 129. Mexican warriors toss the captured cannon into the water at Tetamapolco (Chapter 31). 130. Mexicans flee from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 32). 131. Exploits of Tzilacatzin (Chapter 32). 132-134. Battle about Ayauhcalcitlan and Nonoalco (Chapter 32). 135-137. The warrior Tzilacatzin in three disguises (Chapter 32).

[p. 446]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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[502]
[724]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

138, 139. Spaniards are fought off and withdraw (Chapter 32). 140. Warriors of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Coyoacac arrive to work treachery upon the Mexicans (Chapter 33). 141. Quauhtemoc and a noblewoman (Chapter 33). 142-145. The treachery of those of Xochimilco, Itzapalapan, and Coyoacac is prevented (Chapter 33).

[p. 44 (T)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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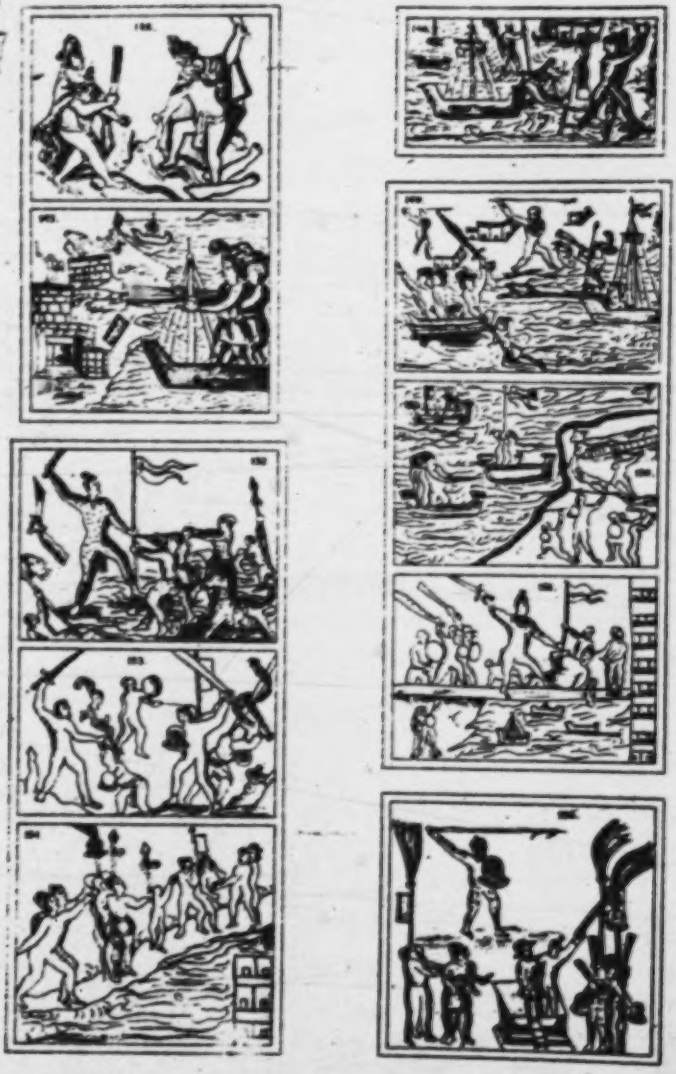
[687]



—*After Paso y Troncoso*

146. Quauhtemoc and Motecuzoma punish the traitors (Chapter 33). 147, 148. Spaniards arrive at Yauhtenco (Chapter 33, 34). 149-151. Mexicans disperse the Spaniards and capture some (Chapter 34). 152-155. Mexicans capture and sacrifice fifty-three Spaniards, some horses, and many allies (Chapter 35).

[p. 44 (4)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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[417]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

156, 157. Mexicans capture and sacrifice fifty-three Spaniards, some horses, and many allies (Chapter 35). 158. Spaniards enter the market place at Tlatilulco (Chapter 36). 159. Spaniards fire the temple at Tlatilulco (Chapter 36). 160, 161. Battle in the market place at Tlatilulco (Chapter 36).

[p. 44(V)]

7: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

796 778 **Twentieth Chapter.** Here is told how the Spaniards[1] slew and destroyed the Mexicans who were celebrating the Feast of Uitzilopochtli in the place called the Temple Courtyard.

Inic cempoalli capitulo: vncā mjtoa in quenjn Espanoles quinmjctique, quimjxtlatique in Mexica, in quilhujquixtiliaia Vitzilobuchtli in vncā mjtoaia Teutoalco.

● 726 And after this, when already the feast was taking place, all were dancing and singing, and there was song with dance. The song roared.

When now it was time, and the moment was opportune for the Spaniards to slay them, then they issued forth girt for battle; they came to block everywhere the ways leading out and in, [called] Quauhquiuiuac, Tecpantzinco, Acatl yiacapan, and Tezcacoac.[2] And when they had closed them off and also various [other] places, [the people] were contained, [so that] nowhere could they get out.

And this having been done, they then entered the temple courtyard to slay them. They whose task it was to kill them went only afoot, each with [his] leather shield, some with their iron-studded shields, and each with iron sword. Then they surrounded those who danced whereupon they went among the drums. Then they struck the arms of the one who beat the drums; they severed both his hands, and afterwards struck his neck, [so that] his neck [and head] flew off, falling far away. Then they pierced them all with iron lances, and they struck each with the iron swords. Of some they slashed open the back, and then their entrails gushed out. Of some, they split the head; they hacked their heads to pieces; their heads were completely cut up. And of some they hit the shoulder; they split open and cut their bodies to pieces. Some they struck in the shank; some on the thigh. Of some, they struck the belly, and then their entrails streamed forth. And when one in vain would run, he would only drag his entrails like something raw, as he tried to flee. Nowhere could he go. And one who tried to go out, there they struck and pierced him.

But some climbed the wall, and so succeeded in taking flight. Some entered the various tribal temples, and there escaped. And some eluded [the

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ie illujtlamacho, in ie netotilo in ie cujco, in ie cujcoanolo: in cujcatl, iuhqujn xaxamacatimanj.

In ie inmā, in otlainmantic injc temjctinque in Españoles: njman ie ic oalqujça omoiauchichiuhque, ocontzatzaquaco, in jzqujcampe ẽquixoaia, calacoaia, in quauhquijaoac tecpantzinco, acatl yiacapan, Tezcacoac. Auh in ocõtzatzacque: no izqujcā momanque, aocac vel hoalqujça.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmā ie ic calaquj in teuitoalco in temjctitoque: in intequjuh in temjctique çan tlacxipāvia imecvachimal, cequj intotopchimal, yoan intetepuzmaquauh: njman ie ic quinjaoalco in mjtoia, njmā ie ic vi in vevetitlan, njmā quimavitecque in tlatzotzona oalcocoton vmexti in jmacpal çatepan quiquechvitecque veca vetzito in jquech: njmā ie muchintin texixili tepuztopiltica, yoan teviviteque tepuzmaquauhtica: cequjntin qujncujtlaço. njman valmotoxaoa in incujtlaxcol, cequjntin qujnquatzatzaianque, vel quitzeltilique in intzontecon, vel itzeltix in intzõtecõ. Auh in cequjntin quimaculhujtecque, oalcacamatlapan, oaltzatzaian in innacaio: cequjntin qujncotzvivitecque, cequjn quimetzvivitecque, cequjntin qujmjtivitecque, njmā moch oalmotoxaoa in incujtlaxcol. Auh in aca oc nen motlaloa in jcujtlaxcol, ça qujvilana, iuhqujn zonoqujova in momaquixtiznequj, aoc campa vel huj: auh in aquin quiçaznequj, vmpa qujoalhujtequj, qujvalxixili.

Auh cequjntin, tepantli quitlecavique, tel huel momaquixtiq̃: cequjntin calpulco cacalaque vmpa momaquixtique. Auh in cequjntin intlan momaq̃'a-

1. In the Codex, the slide is omitted.

2. These were, respectively, the south gate of the main temple square (see map) to the Itzapalapan road; the west gate to the Tlacopan road; and, probably, the north and east gates. — Cone, Revista mexicana.

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726 Spaniards] among [the dead]; they went in among those who had died, only feigning death, and were able to escape. But one who stirred, when they saw him, they pierced.

And the blood of the chieftains ran like water; it spread out slippery, and a foul odor rose from the blood. And the entrails lay as if dragged out. And the Spaniards walked everywhere, searching in the tribal temples; they went making thrusts everywhere in case someone were hidden there. Everywhere they went, ransacking every tribal temple as they hunted.

And when [all this] became known, there then was a shout: "O chieftains! O Mexicans! Hasten here! Let all prepare the devices, shields, and arrows! Come! Hasten here! Already the chieftains have died; they have been put to death, destroyed, shattered, O Mexicans, O chieftains!" Thereupon arose an outcry, a shouting, a shrieking with hands striking the lips. Quickly the chieftains marshaled themselves; as if working with a will they brought the arrows and shields. Then the fray joined. They shot at them with barbed arrows, spears, and tridents, and they loosed darts with broad, obsidian points at them. It was as if a [mass of] deep yellow reeds spread over the Spaniards.

tique, intlan cacalacque in ovelmjcque, çan momjcanenequja, vel momaquixtique: auh in aca oc mopoçaoa in conjtta, conjxili.

Auh in jmesço in tiacavan iuhqujn atl ic totocac, iuhqujn aalacatoc, yoan xoqujiac coatoc in eztli. Auh in cujtlaxcolli iuhqujn tlavilanj. Auh in Españoles, novian nemj in tlatemoa in calpulco, novian ontlaxiltivi in tlatemoa, in açaca vmpa mjnaia, novia nenque, quixaqualotinenque in izqujcan calpulco in tlatemoque.

Auh in omachoc, njman ie ic tzatzioa. Tiacavane mexicae vallatotoca, ma nechichioalo in tlaviztli, in chimalli, in mjtl, vallacivi, vallatotoca, ie mjquj in tiacaoan: ommjcque, onixpoliuhque, ommjxtlatique: Mexicae tiacaoane. Njmã ie ic tlacavaca, ie ic tzatzioa, netenviteco, iciuhca valnechicaovac in tiacavan iuhqujn nececenquetzalo in mjtl in chimalli qujitquj. Nimã ie ic necalioa, qujmõmjna in jca tlatzontectli, in jca tlacochtli, yoan in mjnacachalli, yoan in tlatzontectli, itzpatlacio in co. .aça: iuhqujn çorpul ommoteca in acatl, in impan Españoles.

Twenty-first Chapter. Here is told [how] war first began, when the Mexicans gave battle to the Spaniards here in Mexico.

And the Spaniards fortified themselves. And the Spaniards also shot at the Mexicans with iron arrows, and fired the guns at them. And then they put Moctezuma in irons.

And all the chieftains who had died [in the temple courtyard] were thereupon taken out and brought forth, and identified. And the mothers and fathers raised a cry of weeping; all wept over them; there was wailing. First they took them to their homes. Later they carried them to the temple courtyard, brought them together there, and burned them together there at the place called Quauhxicalco.[1] But some [were] burned only at the various young men's houses.

And when the sun was about to enter his house, [but] a little sun still [shone], thereupon Itzquauhtzin cried out; on the [palace] roof-top, he called out and spoke: "O Mexicans, O men of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco, your ruler, the lord of men, Moctezuma, beseecheth you and saith: 'Let the Mexicans hear! We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]![2] Let [the battle] be abandoned! Let the arrow and shield be stilled! Unhappy [are] the poor old men and women, the common folk, those not yet of understanding — who toddle, who crawl, who lie placed in cradles or on [cradle] boards, those yet untrained!' For this reason doth your ruler say: 'We are not the equals [of the Spaniards]; may [the strife] cease' — because they have shackled him; they have had irons placed on his feet!"

And when he had said this, then they raised a clamor and chid him. The Mexicans became more and more enraged. One, much inflamed by anger, said: "What saith Moctezuma, O fool? [Art thou] not one of his warriors?"[3] Whereupon there was

Injc cexpoalli oce capitulo: vncan mjtoa iancuj- 726
can peuh iauiotl, injc qujmjcalque Mexica in Espa-
ñoles in njcan mexico.

Auh in ichoantin Españoles: njman valmotepe-
tlatzatzacque. Auh in Españoles no qujnvalmjna in
Mexica in jca tepuzmjtl, yoan ic qujnvalmotla in
tlequjqujztli. Auh njman tepuztli contlatlahiiique
in Motecuçoma:

auh in jxqujchtin tiacavan in omjcque: njmā ie ic 764
tequjxtilo, teçaçaco, teiximacho. Auh in tenanvan
in tetaoan tlachoqujztleoa tehoqujlilo, nechoqujlilo,
oc inchachan qujnvicaca, çatepan qujnoalhujcaque in
teuitvalco, qujncentlalique: vmpa qujncentlatique,
cecnj in jtocaiocan: Quauhxicalco. Auh in cequjn-
tin tlatlaque çan tetelpuchcali.

Auh in ie oncalaqujx tonatiuh, in oc achiton tona- 648
tiuh: njman ie ic valtzatzi in Jtzquauhtzin, tlapanco
valtzatzi: qujoalito. Mexicae, tenuchcae, tlatilulcae,
amechtlatlauhti in amōtlatocauh, in Tlacatecutli in
Motecuçoma: qujoalitoa. Ma qujcaqujcan in Me-
xica, ca amo titenamjcvan, ma motlacavaltican, ma
momana in mjtl in chimalli, motolinja in jcnoveve,
in jcnoilama in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli in aiamo quj-
mati in moquequetza, in movēlana, in coçultentoc, in
vapaltentoc, in aiamo qujmomachitia: ipampa con-
jtoa in amotlatocauh. Camo titenamjcvan, ma netla-
caoaltilo, ca ocontepuziotique, tepuztli icxic ocon-
tlatlalilique:

Auh in oconjto in, njmā ie ic conchachalatza,
conaoa, çan ie ilhujce tlavelcuj in Mexica qualanj,
ce ilhujce poçonj: conjlhuja. Tlein qujoalitoa Mote-
cuçoma nocne? amo ce yioqujchoan? Nimā ie ic
tlacaoaca, niman ic maantimoquetz in tlacaoaca:

1. Four places named Quauhxicalco, in the temple square, are mentioned in Book II — *The Ceremonies*, pp. 168, 170, 171.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*¿yo[?] somos hombres con vos fuertes para que contrastemos.*"

3. *Ibid.*: "*¿no sois el paje de Montezuma? Y no soliais con el, no contrastar la guerra.*" *Nuestro*: literally, "my friend."

648 an outery, and then the tumult rose and spread. Thereafter arrows fell upon the roof-tops. But the Spaniards sheltered Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin under their shields lest the Mexicans pierce them with the arrows.

For this reason were the Mexicans in great wrath: because [the Spaniards] had completely destroyed the chieftains [in the Temple Courtyard]; without warning, they had slain them by treachery.[4]

● 726 Not yielding to force of arms, [the Mexicans] surrounded the palace. They watched various places that none might enter it secretly — that none might in stealth take in tortillas. Hence, at once was stayed all which they had been receiving; forthwith they left no more. In this way they would starve them.[5]

And as for those who would in vain advise [the besieged], or gain merit by secretly giving [one of them] a little food, if they were seen or detected, they then and there slew them. They killed them on the spot. They either struck them on the back of the head, or they stoned them.

At one time some Mexicans were seen carrying in furs. These let word fall that through them some had secretly gone in. Therefore all were strictly commanded that every road and canal be well guarded and watched; that all take great care in the watching. And those who took in the furs [were] carriers,[6] the emissaries of the stewards of Ayotzintepec and Chinantla. Then and there they breathed their last; their work dropped; at the canal they struck them on the back of the head with wooden clubs.[7] Those of Tenochtitlan had only quarreled among themselves, and quite in confusion had seized the carriers. They said: "Surely he is one [of them]!" Then they put him to death. And if they noted someone [wearing] his fine crystal lip rod, then they quickly seized and killed him. They said: "Surely this one also walketh entering within, to serve food to Moctezuma." And if they saw someone who had tied on himself the maguey fiber cape[8] of a carrier, him also they quickly seized. They said: "This one also is a brute who goeth bearing evil tales, and letteth them in to see Moctezuma."

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njmā ie ic onvetzi in mjtl in tlapanco. Auh in Motecuçomatzin yoan Itzquauhtzi, qujnchimalcaltia in Españoles in ma qujnmjnti in Mexica.

Inic cenca qualanque in Mexica: iehica ca vel qujmjxtlatique in tiacaoan in ainnemachpan in qujnioiomjctique,

in amo ivivi ic concauhque qujiaoalotinemj in tepancalli: tlatlapia in açaca onjchtacacalaquj, in açaca conjchtacacalaquja tlaxcalli, çan njman ic ommotzacu in jxqujch in omacoia, çan njmā aocac tle concaoaia: iuhqujn qujncujtlaoatzque.

Auh in aqujque oc nen xonexcaia, tlamatzoaia, motlamaceviaia, in ichtacatzin cōmacaia in tlaqualtzintli: intla oittoque, intla oittaloque, njman vncā qujnmjctia, vncan qujntlatlatia, aço qujncuexcochvitequj, anoço qujntetepachoa.

Cequjntin mexica ceppa ittaloque, qujcalaqujaia totomjtl: iehoantin tlanexotlaque, inca cequjntin oncalaquj ichtaca, ic cenca netlaquauhnaoatiloc injc vellapieloz, vel mopiaz in jtquj vtli yoan in jtquj acalutli, vel necujtlaviloa vel ixpialoia. Auh in qujcalaqujaia totomjtl tequjtque intlaivalhoā in calpixque aiuttzintepecatl yoan chinantecatl: njman vncan ihiotl qujz, njmā vncā intequjuh vetz, acaloco in qujmōcuexcochviviteoque, vitzantica, çan monetechvia in tenuchca, yoan çan jliviz in qujntzitzquja in tequitque, qujtoaia. Ca iehoatl in: njmā ic conmjctia. Auh intla aca conjttaia ichopilotenteuh: njman qujcujtivetzi, conmjctia: qujtoa, ca no iehoatl in oncalactinemj in contlatlamaca in Motecuçoma: yoan intla aca qujtta, qujmolpilia tequitcaaiatl, no qujcujtivetzi, qujtoa: ca no iehoatl in tlapalpul, in tetzauhtlatolli qujtqujtinemj, cōcalaquja, in conjtta motecuçoma.

4. *For qqqqqqqqmictique read qujnicqqqqmjctique.*
5. Literally, "they dried their entrails."
6. *Corresponding Spanish text: "los mensajeros o pajes de Motecuçoma."*
7. *Vitzantica: read vitzantica.*
8. *Corresponding Spanish text: "ropon manera delgada que llama ayate."*

And he who in vain would save himself, implored and said to them: "What do you do, O Mexicans? I am not [the one]." They answered him: "Thou art [one of them] also, O fool; [art thou] not a carrier?" Then and there they slew him. They only [continued] to guard the people; they went about cautious of others. Their eyes and concern were only to guard the Mexicans. Many they punished for imagined [evil], those who perished without warning, whom they punished not for their own crime.

Auh in oc nen monaquixtiznequj, in quintlatlauhtia quimjlhuja. Tle amaj mexicae, camono nehoatl: conjlhuja, ca no tehoatl nocne, amo titequjtquje njman ic vncan cõmjctia ça teixpipia, ça motecujtlavitinemj, ça imjx intequjuh, ça tepipia in mexica: ca mjequintin in tlapictli quitzacutiaque in jxpoposomjctiloque in amo vel intlatlacul quitzacutiaque. 726

And still other carriers hid and sheltered themselves. No more were they to be seen; they showed themselves to no one; no longer would they come forth to the people. They were in great fright, swooning with fear. They lived hidden, lest they fall into the people's hands.

Auh in oc cequjnti tequjtque motlatique, mjnaxque, aocmo moteittitiaia, aocmo motenextiliaia, aocmo tevic quiçaia, cenca momauhtiaia, mauhcaçonequja, mjinaxtinenca, injc amo temac vetzizque.

And when they laid siege to the Spaniards, for only seven days did they join battle with them in their quarters. And for twenty-three days they were shut in. And for as many days, the canals were dredged, widened, deepened, and made precipitous. Everywhere the canals were made dangerous and difficult. And on the roads, in various places, they erected barriers, laid walls, and placed ramparts. Passages between houses were made dangerous.

Auh in jquac oquincaltzacque in Españoles: çan chicomjlhujtl in quincalicalque. Auh in caltzacuticatca cempoalilhujtl omei: auh izqujlhujtl in, in acalotli motatatacac, mopapatlauh, movevecatlano, motetepexiõtz novian movicantlaii, moovitili in acalotli: Auh in vtli ipã, netetenantiloc, tenamjtl motetecac, netetenantlaliloc, mooviujcantlali in caltzalãtli: 723 726

And when this had taken place[9]—

auh in ie iuhquj. 000

9. Chapter 21 may end with an interruption completed in the beginning of Chapter 22. Angel María Garibay (*Historia de la literatura náhuatl*, II, p. 252), however, identifies the break as one of several instances. See also the ending of Chapter 33.

[p. 58 is blank]

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000 **Twenty-second Chapter. Here is told how it became known that the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés, was coming, and that he was returning to Mexico.**

—it became known that the Captain now was coming from Tepeyacac.[1] He had set forth bringing with him many Spaniards, and a great number of men of Tlaxcalla and Cempoalla—many of them, large numbers, an abundance, a teeming multitude, a great host. Not only [in numbers] were they coming, [but] they came to war; they came with devices, in war array, [with] their shields, obsidian-bladed swords, and wooden clubs borne upon their shoulders. They came stirring up a column of dust, [so that] their faces were covered and ashen with dust. They were caked with earth—clothed in dust, in much earth, [which] flaked off. In haste they ran and hurried here. They said, as they went: "Come along, O men of Tlaxcalla! O men of Cempoalla!"

723 And the Mexicans determined among themselves that thereafter they would not be seen, but would hide and conceal themselves. As if the earth lay dead, they would speak aloud no more, [but] only remain spying out of entrances, openings in walls, and holes which in some measure they had pierced through walls, through which they could look out. Only those who had [houses] by the roadside—those along the edge of the road—could do so. But those who were among houses could not. [For] if the Spaniards had seen how many chieftains there were in some places, marshaled together, they would have thought in their hearts that the Mexicans would begin, start, and initiate the war.

And after this, [Cortés] went to and entered the palace; whereupon they shot off the guns.[2]

●726 And when this had taken place, then [the Mexicans] came forth intent upon battle. Thereupon there were [war] cries and there was fighting; the fray was then joined; there was battle. Arrows and rocks fell upon the Spaniards.[3]

Injc cenpoalli omume capitulo: vncā mjtoa in quenjn machiztico in ie vitz capitan don hernādo Cortes injc oalmocuepaia mexico.

In omachiztico in ie vitz in Capitan tepeiacacpa in quiçaco, mjequintin in quinoalhujcac in Españoles yoan cenca mjequintin in tlaxcalteca yoā in cempoalteca vel mjequintin vel ixa·in, vel ixachintin, vel tonac, vel tonaque: amo çan iuh vallaque, valiauiaque, valmotlavizticiaque, valmoiauchichiuhtiaque, inchichimal, inmamaquauh, inmamavitzoc quiquequequechotivitze, teuhtli quioalçtziaque, omach iixtlaliuhque omach yixtenexiuhque, omach moca tlalloaque, omach teteubquimjliubque, ça moca thltin, omach cocotztlaloaq̄ cenca oalmotlaloa, cenca oalbujcinj, motzatzatzilitivi: quiiotivi, vallatotoca tlaxcaltecae, cempoaltecae.

Auh in Mexica monaoatique, injc amo quin mottitizque, çā motlatizque, mjnaiazque, iubquin tlalli mjctimotecac, aocac naoati, tel hoallachielotoc in tlatzacujlcamac, yoan tepancamac, yoan tlacoiocco achi quiçocoionjque in tepantli, injc vmpa ontlachie: çan iehoan in otenoaque, in otentli quitocatoque in iuh quichiuhque: auh in calnepantla onoque amo iuh quichiuhque. Auh intla quimittanj in cana quexquichtin manj, tepeuhtimanj, in tiacaoan, ca iniol iuh tlamatizquja in Españoles, ca in mexica iehoan quipeoaltia, iehoan quitzintia, iehoan inpeoal in iuiiotl.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ocalaquito vei tecpan: njman ie ic quitlatlaça in tlequiquiztli:

auh in ie iuhquj, njmā ie ic oalquiça quioalixtia in mjcalinque: njmā ie ic tlacaoaca, ie ic necalioa, njmā ie ic muchioa in iuiiotl, njman ie ic tlaieculo onvetzi in mjtl, in tetl, in impan Espanoles.

1. Tepeyacac presumably not the site north of Tenochtitlan, but one between it and Tlaxcalla.
2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*remetyeron a subir todos los tiros en señyal de los que avian llegado, y para atemorizar a los contrarios.*"
3. The title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

● 726 But the Spaniards shot iron bolts and guns. Many men were pierced by the arrows and shot by the guns. The crossbowmen aimed the bolts to good purpose; they sighted well along the bolt upon whom they would pierce. And the iron bolts, when they went, seemed to fly humming and whizzing; great was their whirring. And not purposelessly did the arrows fly. All struck and pierced people through. And the guns were well trained upon and aimed at the people. And when [the shots] struck, all went down stretched out on the ground, extended like sleeping-mats. Without one's knowing, it struck one; without warning, it slew one. As many as they hit, so many died,[4] when they struck vital spots — perhaps the forehead, or the back of the head, or the heart, or the breast, or the belly, or the abdomen. But if they struck only the thigh or the shoulder, they did not then die. They were not endangered, but would recover. And when the Mexicans saw how the gun [shots] and iron bolts struck, they went from side to side, as if back and forth, hither and thither. They kept good watch and observed carefully.

And when there had been battle for four days, then [some] chieftains climbed up — selected and chosen ones, who possessed devices, in whose faces was war. All went up to the top of the [pyramid] temple. They carried up two beams and many rounded oak logs, called the god's wood, which they carried up in order to cast them down [on the foe].

And after them climbed the Spaniards; they mounted the [pyramid] temple. The Spaniards[5] proceeded in squadrons and in files. Ahead went the arquebusiers, who climbed up very deliberately, not massed. They advanced firing the arquebuses and thus loosing shots. Second went the crossbowmen, the archers using iron bolts. Third went the swordsmen. Fourth went the lancers, the halberdiers.

And the chieftains in vain marshaled themselves to cast the wood, the thick oak logs, down upon the Spaniards. They only fended them off with their shields at once and took no heed [of them]. And when the Spaniards had reached the summit, they thereupon struck, pierced, and stabbed [the foe]. And the chieftains, on this, threw themselves to the

Auh in icholtin Españoles: quioallaça in tepuzmjtl, yoan in tlequjqujztli, mjec tlaçatl mjnaloc yoan tlequjqujzviloc: in tlatepuztlavitolhujanj, vel qujxcatzinta in mjtl, vel ipan qujtlachialtia in mjtl in aquin quimjnaz: auh in tepuzmjti injc ıauh iuhquin qujqujnacatiuh, iuhquin çoçolocatiuh, cenca çolonj: auh atle çan nen quiça in mjtl, moch temjna, mochi nalquiça in teitic: yoan in tlequjqujztli, vel tepan quiiacatia, vel tepan contlachialtia. Auh in jquac vetzi, vellaltitech viloa, vellaltitech nepacholo, iuhquin pepechtli neteco, amo tenemachpan in tepā iauh, amo quitteimachitia in temjctia, in quezquj ipan iauh vel itzquj mjquj: in jquac imovican vetzi, in aço imjxquac, in anoço incuexcochtlan, anoço iniollopan, anoço imelchiquipan, anoço imjtipan, in anoço vel inxillan: auh intla çan lmetzpan, anoço imacolpan vetzi, amo njmā ic mjquj, amo ic oviti, çan tel vmpati. Auh in oquittaq̄ mexica in juh vetzi tlequjqujztli yoan in tepuzmjtl, ça avic vivi, iuhquin ixtlapalhujuj, tlatlaxtlapaloa cenca vel motlachielia, vel mjmati.

Auh in ie iuh navilhujtl necalioa: in tiacaoan tlecoque, ichoan in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlavicoque, in jmjxco ca iauiotl, muchintin tlecoque in jcpac teucalli, vme vepantli quitlecavica, yoan mjec in aoaquavitl, mjmjmjltic, itoca, teuquavitl in quitlecavique, in impan quioallaçazquja.

Auh njmā ie ic tleco in Españoles quitlecavia in teucalli, tlatlamātitivi, cuecuentitivi in Espanoles; tlaiacantivi in matlequjqujceque, cencā tlamach in tleco, amo mamana, quitlāztivi in matlequjqujztli, ic tlamotlativi, tlaōcaiotitivi, in tepuztlavitoloanj, in tlatepuzmjvianj, tlaiecaiotia in tepuzmaquaveque, in tlanauhcaiotitivi, tepuztopileque, tzinacātopileque.

Auh in tiacaoan oc nen valmomamanaia in quioallaça quavitl, in tomaoac aoaquavitl in impā Españoles: çan quichinaltopeoa, ç... njman aoc tle onievat. Auh in opanvetztio in Españoles: njmā ie ic tevivitequj, yoan tezixili, tetzotzopitza. Auh in tiacaoā njman ie ic valmotepeoa in jtlamamatlaioc teucalli, iuhquin tlilancatl valmotepeoa. Auh in Espa-

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Hirieron los españoles todos sus tiros [tiros?] muy certeros que sobre herrauan tiro que no matase con el.*"
5. The title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

landings of the temple [pyramid];[6] like black ants they tumbled down. And the Spaniards[7] hurled indeed all of them from the temple [pyramid]; none then escaped. And when they had come from dealing death, thereupon [the Spaniards] entered [the palace] and quickly barricaded themselves.

And this happened during the hour of eating.

And when this had come to pass, then it was made known to the people, and [the dead] were taken forth; and when all who had been cast from the temple [pyramid] had been taken out, then all were burned at the various young men's houses.[8]

noles vel mochintin quinteucalhuique in jxquichtin tlecoca in tiiacaoan, vel mochinti moteucalhuique, njman aocac maquiz. Auh in ontemjctico, njman ie ic callacq̃ valmotzatzacutivetzque. 726

Auh inin muchiuh ie tlaqualizpan: 764
auh in ie iuhquj njmā ie ic teiximacho, teçaçaco: 764
auh in ie muchintin oçacoque in moteucalhujq̃, njmā ie ic tetlatilo in tetelpuchcali.

6. See Pl. 83.

7. The title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y luego de ahi del en, cundyeró a hazir y matar a los que estauan arriba, y muchos dellos se despeñaul por el en abaxo, finalmente todos murieron los que estan subido al en tornaronse los españoles a su fuerte y barricaronse muy bien. Los mexicanos enterraron a los que alli murieron porque todo era gente principal y de mucha cuenta en la guerra."

[p. 62 is blank]

764 And as it burned, with pure hatred, with little good will, some chid him, and said: "This evildoer! He terrorized the world! In all the world there was dread [of him]; in all the world there was fear and fright before him; this man, when anyone offended him only a little, he then slew. Many he punished for imagined evil, which was not real but only a fabrication of words."[4] And still many who cursed him, grumbled in their teeth, chattered, and shook their heads.

But Itzquauhtzin they went off with in a boat. They proceeded to take his body in a boat, to arrive here at Tlatilulco. They were deeply saddened; their hearts were desolate. All burst into tears.[5] None chid him; none belittled him. They said: "The lord, the commanding general Itzquauhtzin, suffered torments. He, with Moctezuma, underwent fatigue and affliction. How much pain he endured for us since we have come here and tarried during all the time that Moctezuma was [alive]!" Thereupon they set in order the palace flag and the rest of the paper array with which they bedight him, and they laid food before him.[6] And then they took him in order to burn him in the Temple Courtyard at a place called Quauhxicalco. With great honors his body burned.

●726 And for four days there was fighting. For only seven more days the Spaniards were contained in their quarters. And when the seven days had passed, [some Spaniards] again sallied forth, going to observe, look about, and arrive there at Maçatzintamalco.[7] They went to gather stalks of green maize; they went to secure green ears of maize. Even as enemies they went to gather the green maize. They were in great haste; they no more than got there, and then quickly returned to enter [the palace]. And when they set out, the sun was high; [on their return, the sun] was setting.

Auh injc tlatlac, çan tlavelpan, aocmo cenca teiollocopa: cequj caoa: qujtoa. Inin tlapalpul: cemanaoac in otlamamauhtiaia, cemanaoac in ooalimacaxoia. cemanaoac in oivic valnemamauhtiloia, valneiçaviloia: in ichoatl in, in aquin çã tepitzin, injc qujiolitlacoaia, njman contlatlatiaia, mjec in tlapictli oqujtzacujlti in amo nelli in çan tlatolchichioalli: yoan oc mjectin in caoaia, qujqujnacaia, ôoiovaia, moquaquacuecuechoaia.

Auh in Itzquauhtzin conacaihujto, acaltica conanato in jnacaio, injc caxitico njcan tlatilulco, cenca motlaocultique, cenca ichoioac in iniollo, teixaiovitoa, aiac ma cavaia, aiac in ma qujtelchioa: qujtoaia. Oqujhiovi in tlacatl, in tlacuchcalcatl in Itzquauhtzin, ca ivan otlaihiovi, yoã omotolinj in Motecuçoma, qoexqujch oqujhiovi in topampa in vmpa otivallaque, otioalitztiaque in ixqujch cavitl in ocatca in Motecuçoma: njman ie ic qujchichioa in tecpanjtl, yoan oc cequj amatlatqujtl ic qujchichiuhque: yoan qujtlamamacaque: auh njman ic qujvicaque in qujtlatito in teuitvalco, itocaiocan quauhxicalco: cenca tlamavizzililiztica injc tlatlac in jnacaio.

Auh iuh navilhujtl necalioac, ça on chicomjlhujtique in caltzacuticatca in Españoles. Auh in oacic chicomjlhujtl: oc valqujzque ommotlachielito, ommotlatlachielito, vmpa onacito in maçatzintamalco: concujto ovatl, valxiloiotia, çan coniaucujto in toqujzvatl, cenca çan onjciuhtivia, çan tequjtl onacito: njma ic valcalactivetzque: auh in onqujzca ie vmmotzcaloa, ie vncalaquj in tonatiuh.

4. Corresponding Spanish text: *"dyenos dezian mal de Motençuma porque auja sido muy cruel."*

5. Corresponding Spanish text: *"los del dañadero lloraron mucho a su governador porque era muy bien quisto."*

6. See Pl. 88.

7. *"Entre Popotla y Chapoltepec,"* according to R. H. Barlow: "Anales de la conquista de Tlatelolco en 1473 y en 1521," *Tlalocán a través de los tiempos*, V (1945), p. 40, n. 7; it is also noted that *"Ixhuiuhcan* (2:297) *la calzada en 'el salto de Alvarado.'"* The *Anales de Tlatelolco* (Heinrich Berlin, ed.; México: Antigua Librería Robredo, 1948), p. 65 (§312), mentions the place in connection with Nonoalco. — In this paragraph, as in many others, is to be noted a great similarity between Sahagún's translation and the *Anales de Tlatelolco* (§§302, 303). — Rafael García Granados, personal communication.

Twenty-fourth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards and those of Tlaxcalla set out and fled from Mexico by night.

And after dark, when midnight came, thereupon came out the Spaniards, crowded together, and all of the men of Tlaxcalla. The Spaniards took the lead, and the Tlaxcallans followed behind, covering the rear, like their walls, their rear guard. They went carrying a wooden bridge, which they proceeded to lay across the canal over which they passed.[1]

At the time, it was drizzling; there was a fine sprinkle, a gentle spray, of rain. They crossed easily some of the canals, at Tecpantzinco, Tzapotlan, and Atenchicalco. But when they went to attain Mixcoatechialtitlan,[2] the fourth canal, then it was seen that they were leaving. A woman fetching water spied them, whereupon she cried out and said: "Mexicans! Come here quickly! Already they leave! Your foes are already slinking away!" Then also a man cried out from the top of the [pyramid] temple of Uitzilopochtli. His cries spread well out over the people; everyone heard him. He said: "O chieftains, O Mexicans! Your foes are already setting out! Hasten here by war boat and along the roads!"

And when it was heard, then there was an outcry. On this, the war boatmen broke forth. They rushed; they plied the poles furiously; the boats struck and bumped one another. They came to [a place called] Micllantonco Macuilcuitlapilco.[3] And from two sides the war boats came upon them. They pressed upon them, the war boats of those of Tenochtitlan and the war boats of those of Tlatilulco. And a number went afoot, direct to Nonoalco, making their way toward Tlacopan, intending to cut off their advance.

Injc cenpoalli onnavi Capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles yoan in tlaxcalteca quizque, choloque in mexico ioaltica. 726

Auh in ovaliovac in oacic ioalnepantla, njmā ie ic quiça in Españoles: ommotenque, yoan in ie ixquich tlaxcaltecatl: in españoles iacattivi, auh in tlaxcalteca tlatoquilitivi, tlatzinpachotivi, iuhquinma intenanoan, intzacujlhoan muchiuhti:, quivicatiaque quauhtlapechtli contecatiaque in acaloco in jpan ompanotiaque: 312

in jquac in aoachqujauhtimanj, aoachtzetzeliuhtimanj, aoachpixauhtimanj, oc cequj in vel companavique acalotli Tecpantzinco, Tzaputla Atenchicalco. Auh in oacito mjxcoa mjxcoatechialtitlā injc nauhcan acaloco: ie vncan ittoque, in ie quiça: ce atlacujc civatl, in qujmjttac: njman ie ic tzatzi: quito. Mexica, xioalnenemjcan, ie quiça, ie navalquiça in amoiaovan: njmā no ce tlacatl tzatzic in jcpac vitzilobuchtli vel tepan motecac in jtzatziliz, ixquich tlacatl qujcac: quito. Tiacavane, mexicae, ie onquiça in amoiauoan, vallatotoca in acalchimalli, yoan in vtli ipan. 487 [203]

Auh in ocacoc: njmā ie ic tlacaoaca: njmā ie ic tlatzomonj in acalchimaleque, totoca, tequjtlaneloa, macalhujtequj, macalhujtectivi, tlamattivi mjctlantonco, macujlcujtlapilco: auh in acalchimalli, necoc in impan valmonamjc, in impan valmopic, in tenuchca imacalchimal, yoā in tlatilulca imacalchimal: yoan cequjntin icxipā iaque, nonoalco tlamelauhque, tlacupampa itztiaque, quiniacatzacujlizquja: 726

1. The Aztec would permit reading "bridges" and "canals." — According to all other sources, they carried only one wooden bridge, which was ruined in the first canal (that is, at Tecpantzinco, before the present site of the Post Office) and could not be used for the rest of the canals (personal communication, Rafael Garcia Granados).

2. *Mixcoa* is repeated in the Nahuatl MS.

These places were all at canals near the main temple square, on the road to Tlacopan. Cano (*op. cit.*) says of Atenchicalco and Mixcoatechialtitlan that they were on the Calzada de Tacuba between S. Juan de Letran and Guerrero; Tzapotlan was on the same *calzada* in the barrio of Tlacopan.

3. The corresponding Spanish text refers to "*un lugar que se llamaua mjcticatzinco, macujlcujtlapilco*"; Cano (*op. cit.*) mentions a Macuilcuitlapilco, "*que pertenece a Sn. Pablo y mexicalcingo Salagado (IV-183).*"

726 [411] Thereupon the war boatmen cast their barbed spears at the Spaniards. From two sides—from both sides—fell the barbed spears. And the Spaniards also shot arrows at the Mexicans; they shot iron bolts and guns. On both sides there was death. The Spaniards and the Tlaxcallans were shot by arrows; the Mexicans were shot. And when the Spaniards reached Tlaltecayoacan, there at the Tolteca canal,[4] there they fell into what seemed a deep chasm; they filled an abyss. There all fell. Those of Tlaxcalla and Tliliuhquitepec tumbled in, as well as Spaniards, and the horses, and some women. With them the canal was completely filled, full, clear to the banks. But those who came at the very rear, emerged and crossed over on men, on bodies.

njmā ie ic contlaça in acalchimalleque in tlatzcntectli in impā in Españoles: necococampa necoc in valhuetzi in tlatzontectli. Auh in iehoantin Españoles, no quinvalmjna in Mexica, quivallaça in tepunmjtl, yoan in tlequjqujztli necoc mjcoa: mjnalo in Españoles, yoan tlaxcalteca: mjnalo in Mexica. Auh in Españoles in oacique in tlaltecaioacan in vncan in tulteca acaloco: vncan iubquin motepexivique, motepexitenoque, mochintin vncā onvetzque, ommotepeuhque in tlaxcaltecatl, in Tliliuhquitepecatl, yoan in Españoles, yoā in cavallome, cequj cioa: vel ic ten in acalotli, vel ic tzoneuh. Auh in ça tlatzacutiaque, ça tlacapan, ça nacapan in onquizque, in vmpanoque.

And when they had proceeded to reach Petlacalco,[5] where there was another canal, very slowly, cautiously, and softly, with guarded measure, they set forth upon the wooden bridge. Here they recovered themselves, caught their breaths, and revived their valor.

Auh in oacito petlacalco, in oc ce vncan icaca acalutli, çan jvian, çan matca, çan tlamach, çan tlamatzin in onquizque, in jpan quauhtlapechtli, vncan patito, vncan imjhio quicujque, vncā moquichquetzque.

And when they reached Popotlan,[6] it was dawn, and light was spreading. Already [the Mexicans] set out to attack: already they had been recognized from afar. And then they went raising a war cry against them and surrounding them. The Mexicans took after them; they took those of Tlaxcalla; and Spaniards were slain. And also Mexicans and Tlatilulcans were killed. On both sides was death dealt. They made the Spaniards leave Tlacopan; they pursued them. And when they advanced forcing them from Tliliuhcan and Xocotlihiovican, there at Xorocotla,[7] there Chimalpopoca, son of Moctezuma, died in the fray. They came upon him pierced by a barbed spear, and wounded. Likewise Tlaltecatzin, lord of the Tepaneca, died there. They had guided the Spaniards, and gone ahead to show them the route, keep them from wrong roads, maintain them on their course, and make the way for them.[8]

Auh in oacito popotlan, otlatvic, otlanez, ie oquijchuhtivi, ie veca motlamatilitivi. Auh njmā ie ic quimjcaoatztivi, quimololhujtivi, intech icativi in Mexica, quimaantivi in tlaxcalteca yoā in Españoles mjctivi: auh no mjctilo in Mexica in tlatilulca, necoc mjcoatiuh, tlacupan quinoqujztique in quintoca. Auh in oquinquixtito Tliliuhcan, xocotlihiovican, vncan in xoxocotla, vncan in iaumjc in chimalpupuca, in jpiltzin Motecuçoma: in jpan quiçato mjntoc, tlatzõtectica, yoan vivitectoc, çā ie no vncan in mjc, Tlaltecatzin, tepanecatl tecutli in quiniacanaia, in quintlaixtlatitivia, quimotlaxilitivia, quimotequjlitivia, quimoquechilitivia in Españoles:

[648]

Thereupon they passed the Tepçolatl (a small stream). They crossed and forded the water there at Tepçolatl.[9] Then they climbed the embankment

njmā ie ic companavique in Tepçolatl (ce atoiatontli) vmpanoque, onapanoque, in vncan tepçolac, njmā ic ontlecoque in acueco, ommotlalito otoncal-

4. *Ibid.*: "*Estaba por Sn. Fernando y la Ermita de los Mártires e de Sn. Hipólito*" (citing Don. Fernando Ramírez).

5. *Ibid.*: canal on Calzada de Tacuba — the next to last canal.

6. See map. Cano (*op. cit.*), however, identifies it as the last canal on the Calzada de Tacuba.

7. Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 122: "*el camino que va ácia Tacuba.*"

8. In the Robredo edition of Sahagún (IV, p. 73), the account, from Bustamante's 1840 edition, is that "*mataron dos hijos de Motehuzoma, el uno se llamaba Chimalpupuca y el otro Tliliucani, los cuales iban guiando a los españoles.*"

9. Tepçolatl: a stream near Ometusco (Bustamante, *loc. cit.*).

[Acueco][10] and went to quarter themselves at Otoncalpulco,[11] [where] wooden barriers or palisades stretched about the courtyard. There they refreshed themselves; each one rested. And there they breathed. They caught their breaths; there they revived. [And] there those of Teocalhueyacan[12] came to meet them and lead them forward.

pulco, quauhtenaniotoc, quauhtenamentoc in itvallí: vncá mocevique, mocecvique, yoá vncan ihiio cujque, imjhio qujcujque, vncan patito, vncá qujnnamjqujco in teocalhujacan in valteiacan. 726

10. Bobrido edition, *loc. cit.*: "una cuesta que se llama Acueco."
11. Corresponding Spanish text: Otoncalpulco; Bustamante, *loc. cit.*: "ahora se llama Santa María de los Remedios."
12. Teocalhueyacan is the usual spelling.

[p. 68 is blank]

727 all was claimed as booty. He who came upon something, took it, whatever it was; he appropriated it, carried it off on his back, and took it to his home. And on the very place where there were the killings, all—whatsoever it was—which they had gone from and left in fear, and much war equipment, were there stolen: the lombard guns, the arquebuses. And some lay there strewn; gunpowder, iron swords, iron lances, halberds, iron crossbows, and iron bolts lay scattered. And also there were looted iron helmets, corselets of iron and of chain mail, and leather, iron,[1] and wooden shields. And there were claimed as booty the bars and plates of gold, and gold dust, and golden necklaces with pendants.

And when all had been pillaged, thereupon all dispersed into the water and, severally, searched for things, some using their hands, some using their feet.

And as they had set forth, those in the lead had been able to escape. But those who had closed the march, those fell [into the canal] and sank in the water. All had died. It seemed as if verily mountains of [dead] men had been formed. They had pressed against one another and indeed slain themselves, smothered.

●726 And while this was going on, there at Acueco [the Spaniards] had slept; still at night, yet well toward the dawn, they arose, bedight themselves, and girt themselves for battle. Each put on his war array. Thereupon they departed, moved on, and placed themselves in order. And the Mexicans took after them, shouting and crying out—following after them only at a distance, keeping after them from there. And when they reached another place, called Calacoayan, on top of a rounded hill, on a small rise, where there were rows of rocks,[2] there they set upon and slew the people, spearing them. The people there were unwarned, these Calacoayan folk. Without notice they were slain. [The Spaniards] vented and loosed their wrath upon them. And when they had put the people to death, thereupon they came down below and occupied the flat lands, the small plain called Tiçapan. After this they climbed up to Teocalhueyacan.

çaço tlein ipan oquiçato quicuitivetzi, quimotechtia, quimomamaltia quitquj in jchan, yoan vel ipan nemjmjctiloc in jxquich in çaço tlein oquimauhcacauhtiquizque yoan mjec in iautlatquitl in vncan namoieloc in tomaoac tlequjquiztli in matlequjquiztli, yoan cequj vncan tepeoac, vncan tepeuh in tlequjquiztlalli, in tepuzmaquavitl, in tepuztopilli in tzinacantopilli, in tepuztlavitolli, in tepuzmitl: yoā no vncan maceoaloc in tepuzquacalalatli, in tepuzvipilli, in tepuzmatlavipilli, in eoachimalli, in tepuchimalli, in quauhchimalli: yoan vncan momaceuh in teucujtlatl in tlaxantectli, yoan teucujtlacomalli, yoan teucujtlatl tlaxaqualolli, yoan in chaioac concatl teucujtlaio.

Auh in ie ixquich in otlanamoieloc, njmā ie ic onnetepeoalo in atlan, netlatetemolilo, cequjntin tlamatemoa, cequjntin tlacxitemoa.

Auh injc qujzque in iacattiaque, ie vel qujzque: auh in ça tlatzacutiaque, iehoantin in motepexivique in matlanvique, mochintin mjcque vel iuhquj tlacatepetl motlali monenepanotoque, çan monetechmjctique, mjhiomjctiq̄:

auh in ie iuhquj in vncā acueco, in oncochque, oc veca iovan oc vellavizcalpan in meuhq̄, in mochichiuhque. in moiauchichiuhque, in ōmaaquijque in iautlatquitl: njman ie ic oneoa, onolinj, ōnotema. Auh in mexica qujmjcavatztivi qujmoiovitivi, aocmo intech onaci, ça vecapa qujmjtztivi ça qujn vecapa vitivi, ça qujnnachcapavitivi. Auh in onacique cecnj, itocaiocan calacoaian, tlamjmjlolticpac, tlacpactonco, in vncā tecuecuentla, vncā ōtemjctitiquizque ontexixilque, amo qujmjmachitique in vncan tlaca, in calacoaiantlaca, amo innemachpan in mjctiloque, intech motlavelquixtique, intech mellelquixtique. Auh in ontemjctique: nimā ie ic ontemo in tlanj, connamjquj in tlalpechtli, in jxtlaoatontli: itoca, Tiçapan: njman ie ic ontleco Teucalhujacan.

1. *Tepuztlauilli* and *tepuzcheuelli*.
2. See Pl. 98.

Twenty-seventh Chapter, in which is told how the Mexicans came to and reached the Spaniards as they followed them at the rear.

Also this very time was when the Mexicans advanced and arrived in order that they might cut off [the Spaniards'] progress. The Mexicans went to and established themselves at the foot of a mountain called Tonan. And when dawn broke, the Spaniards[1] arrayed themselves and ate. Likewise the Mexicans bedight themselves and ate and drank. They drank a mixture of *pinole* and water.[2] Some climbed to the top [of the mountain], as scouts and sentinels, to watch for when the Spaniards would depart and move on. In truth, standing guard was their very charge, their concern.

And after this, when the Spaniards[3] already proceeded and followed the road, then the scouts cried out and said: "O Mexicans, your foes are already going! Let us array ourselves! Let us arm ourselves, each one! Let us all proceed! Let us all go together! Let none remain behind!" And when they heard this, there was running; all ran hither and thither and went in pursuit.

And when the Spaniards saw them, they waited for them. They then closed ranks in order to encounter them. They studied them carefully in order to consider how to fare well against them. And after this, [the Mexicans] then ran at them; they hurled themselves at them, so that all were enclosed within [the Spaniards' ranks]. Then they were speared and lanced; indeed, then died in great numbers those of Mexico and Tlatilulco. They went to deliver themselves, cast themselves into [the Spaniards'] hands, and came upon death. But few fled from their hands and so did not die. And those who remained at a distance, who remained following from afar, did not die. And when the Spaniards had dealt death among the people, and had spent their rage, they thereupon departed. All who bore burdens went following them. No one knew of them where they

Injc oempoalli on chicume capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica intech acito in Españoles injc qujnteputztocaia. 726

No vel iquac in onacito Mexica in qujniacatzacujlizquja: in ommotecato mexica itzintlan tepetl itoca Tona. Auh in otlatvic nec mocencaoa in Espanoles tlatlaqua: no ivi mexica mocecencaoa tlatlaqua, aatli, pinolatl qujy: cequjntin tlacpac tlecoque, iautlachixque, iautlapixque, qujmonjztztoque in quēmā oncoazque, in quenman onolinjzque in Españoles: vel imjx intequjuh in ontlachixticate. [262 272]

Auh in ie iuhquj in ie olinj in ie utlatoca in Espanoles: njman ie ic valtzatzi in iautlachixque: qujvalitoa. Mexicae ie iauh in amoiaouh, ticcencaoa, ticcecencaoa; ticmolinj, ticenvi, aiac mocauhtiaz. Auh in oqujcacque nec netlalolo, tlaixqujqujça, tlatotoca.

Auh in oqujnvalittaque in Españoles: qujnvalmochialtique, ic oalmomanque in qujnnamjqujzque, vel qujnnemjlia in quenjn vel qujnchivazque. Auh in ie iuhquj nec qujnxopiloa, qujncujtlaxeloa in quexqujch calitic momantiqujz, nec texixilioa, tetzzotzopitzalo, vel vncan tonacamjcque in mexica in tlatilulca, çan qujmōmomacato, inmac ommotlaçato, çā conmotoqujlique in mjqujztli, ça quezqujn in tematitlampa qujz in amo mjc: auh in veca manca, in tevecapaviti manca amo mjcque. Auh in ontemjctique in imellel onqujz in Españoles: njman ie ic vi, qujnteputzvitivi in jxqujchtin tlamama. Ca aocac qujnmati in campa cochque in jquac: vncan in in valmocuepato, in qujmonjcxicaoato, qujmonteputzcaoato in Españoles.

1. *Españoles*: the title is omitted in the Nahuatl text.

2. Sammarin (*op. cit.*, II, p. 479) says that it is now a drink of ground toasted maize mixed in water with cocoa, sugar, cinnamon, and achiote (*achiotl* — *Bixa orellana* L.).

3. See footnote 1 *supra*.

726 slept at this time. Here was the place to which [the Mexicans] went in order to return, when the Spaniards showed their heels to and turned their backs upon them.

766 727 Upon this, then were identified the chieftains who had died, who had been speared. There they burned all of them. And their charred [remains] they gathered up; they collected the bones of each of them. They heaped them all up and then buried them: they buried them in the earth.

805 And these are all the days since the Spaniards came to and entered Mexico, on One Wind of the day count and One Reed of the year count, on the eve of the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they had tarried one day, Two House, at that very time it was the tenth day of Quecholli. And when they came to the end of Quecholli, when it was the actual feast day, thereupon after it followed Panquetzaliztli, with twenty days.[4] Then after it came Tititl, also with twenty days. Then followed after it Izcalli tlamj,[5] also with twenty days. Then, at that time, set in the five days known as Nemontemi. And when the five days came to an end, then began Atl cualo, or Quauitl eua, in which the year returned[6] —in which began the new year—also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Tlacaxipeualiztli, also of twenty [days]. Then followed after it Toçoztontli, also of twenty [days]. Then proceeded after it Uei toçoztli, also of twenty [days]. Then came after it Toxcatl, also of twenty days. This was when the chieftains perished; when they were cut to pieces, when the Mexicans were put to death. Then followed after it Etzalqualiztli, also of twenty days. Then came after it Tecuilhuitontli. This was when [the foe] set forth; upon an opportune day, the Spaniards set out, to disappear by night without the knowledge of [the Mexicans]; without its being their will, they set forth by night. And when the count of all the days is added, they are two hundred and thirty-five. And they had been our friends for one hundred and ninety-five days. And they were our foes for forty days.

000 And when the Spaniards had thus gone, it was therefore thought that in truth they had departed forever, that indeed once and for all they had left—

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie ic teiiximacho in tiacaoan in omjcque, in oxixilioaque, vncan qujntlatique in jxqujchtin: auh in intecullo qujpepena, in jmomjo qujnenechicoaia, coloIoaia, çatepã contocaia, contlaltocaia.

Auh in izqujlhujtico in Mexico inic calaqujco in Españoles: ipã ce hecatl in cemjlhujtlapoalli: auh in xiuhtonalli ce acatl, oc muztla tlamatlactiz Quecholli: auh in cemjlhujtique yme calli: vel iquac in tlamatlacti quecholli: auh in oacic, tlamj quecholli in vel ilhujtl: njman ie ic qujoaltoqujlia in Panquetzaliztli, cempoalilhujtl: njmã qujvaltoqujlia Tititl no cempoalilhujtl: njman qujvaltoqujlia Izcalli tlamj, no cempoalilhujtl: njmã iquac valmotlalia macujlilhujtl motenteoa Nemontemj: auh in ontzoqujz macujlilhujtl: njmã ic vmpeoa in Atl cavalo, anoço quavitl eoa, vncã xiuhqujtzqujlo, vncan peoa in iancujc xivitl, no cempoalli: njmã qujoaltoqujlia tlacaxipeoaliztli no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia Toçoztontli, no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia vei toçoztli, no cempoalli: njman qujvaltoqujlia Toxcatl no cempoalilhujtl: ie vncan itpoliuhque Tiacaoan in xaxamacaque, in mexica in mjcoac: njmã qujvaltoqujlia Etzalqualiztli, no cempoalilhujtl: njman qujvaltoqujlia Tecujlhujtontli, ie vncan in qujzque, vel ipan in ilhujtl in qujzque in Españoles, in moioalpoloque, amo tenemachpan, amo iuh catca teiollo inic qujzque ioaltica. Auh injc mocempoa in jzqujlhujtique matlacpoalli oçe, oncaxtolli: auh in tocnjoan catca chicunapoalilhujtl on caxtolli. Auh in toiaovan catca vmpoalilhujtl:

Auh in oiuh iaque in Españoles: iuh nemachoc in ca oiccen iaque, in ca iccen oiaque, aocmo ceppa valmocuepazque, aocmo ceppa imjloch qujchicoa-

4. The Aztec wet ships Aumentli.

5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II—*The Ceremonies*, p. 154.

6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, VII—*The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years*, p. 23; Sahagún, Bustamante ed., II, p. 269.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

000 to and established quarters at Coyoacan, and it became the Marquis' charge — as well as the road from Acachinanco[3] which led into Tenochtitlan; for the Marquis knew that those of Tenochtitlan were great warriors, great chieftains.

●726 And at Nextlatilco, or Iliacac, there in truth first came the fighting, when they quickly came to and reached Nonoalco.[4] The chieftains came pursuing them. None of the Mexicans died. Then the Spaniards turned back. The chieftains, who fought valiantly by boat, the warboatmen, shot darts at them. Their darts rained upon the Spaniards. They then entered [Nonoalco]. And the Marquis thereupon threw himself upon those of Tenochtitlan; he proceeded along the Acachinanco road. Many times, in truth, there was battle; and the Mexicans contended against him.

ques: auh in vtli in acachinanco vallaticac tenuchtitlan, in moma marques ca vei oquichtli in tenuchcatl vei tiacauh:

auh in nextlatilco, anoço iliacac, vel vmpa achto iaupevaco, njman acitiuetzico in nonoalco in quinvaltocaque tiacavan, aiaac mjc in Mexica: njman ic moteputztique in Españoles. In tiacavan in acaltica tlaecoa, in acalchimaleque quimõmjna: in immjuh, ontzetzelivi in impan Españoles: njman ic calaque. Auh in Marques njman ie ic quivallaça in invicpa tenuchca quivaltoca in vtli in acachinãco: mjecpa valmicalia, auh connamjquj in Mexica.

3. A location in the lake, which can now be fixed as to the east of the Calzada de S. Antonio Abad and south of the Calzada de Fr. Servando Teresa de Mier (personal communication, Rubí Gorda Granados).

4. Nextlatilco and Iliacac are parts of the *barrio* of Nonoalco, in Tlatelolco. Nonoalco (S. Miguel) is described as an "*Islote al norte de la Calzada de Tacuba*," an area today bounded N. by Calle de la Emigración and Manuel González; E., irregular line approximating Guerrero; S., approximately Luna and Plaza de Abasolo; and W., Oficv. — Cano, *op. cit.*

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

Thirtieth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards fashioned their boats there at Texcoco, in order to come here to conquer Mexico.

And when their twelve boats had come from Texcoco, all of them were brought together there at Acachinanco. Then the Marquis moved [his camp] there to Acachinanco, whereupon [the Spaniards] proceeded to find out where the boats could enter—where the canals were straight, or deep, or not deep [enough], so that they might nowhere be grounded. But the canals were twisting and winding; they could not there get them in.

Two boats they brought in there; they forced them through the road going straight from Xolloco. And once [for all] they resolved and determined to do away completely with the Mexicans. When they had so decided, then they placed themselves in order. They carried guns; in the lead they went bearing the large cotton banner. And so, without confusion or impatience, they proceeded beating drums, and sounding flutes, and blowing wooden whistles.

And the two boats came floating slowly; at one side only were the boats floating. But on the other side came no boats, because it was a place built up with houses. Then they came, giving battle. On both sides death was dealt and captives were taken. And when those of Tenochtitlan who dwelt in Çoquipan saw this, they then ran off; they fled in fear. The small children were taken from among the people. Into the water they went; all in the water were the common folk. A cry of weeping arose. And the boatmen filled boats with their little ones. They plied the boat poles; they plied them with vigor. Nothing else did they take with them, but left, hastily, in their fear, all their wretched belongings. Indeed everything they left scattered in their hurry. And our foes plundered as they went, taking whatsoever they came upon. What they found as they went, they took; they carried off with them perchance [regular] capes; or large, cotton ones; or devices; or two-toned drums; or ground drums.

Injc cempoalli onmatlactli capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles quixinque imacal vmpa tetzcocu injc tepevaco njcan mexico.

Auh in ovalla imacal tetzcocu matlactetl omume, çan oc much vmpa mocenten in acachinanco, njman vncã valmjquanj in Marques in acachinanco: njmã ie ic qujtlatemolitinemj incampa vel calaquja acalli, incampa ie melavaticac acalotli, in aço vecatlan, in acanoço vecatlan injc amo cana macanaz: auh in acalotli in cocoltic, in cuecuelpachtic, amo vel vncan quicalaqujque,

vntetl in acalli in concalaqujque, concujtlaviltequiltique in vtli xolloco vallamelauhticac: auh ceppa quicentlatalhujque, quicemjtoque, injc quincentlazilizque mexica in quincentlatalhujzque: nec motecpana, quivica in tlequjqujztli quiniacantivitz in quachpanjtl, çan njman amo mamana, amo momocivia, tlatzotzontivitze, yoan tlapitztivitze yoan quavilacapitztli.

Auh in vntetl acalli, çan jvian onotivitz, çan cectlapal in vallonotia in acalli: auh in oc cetlapal atle valla in acalli, iehica ca calla, nec iativitze, necalivativitz, necoc mjcoa, necoc tlamalo. Auh in oquittaque in tenuchca in çoquipan onoque: nec motlaloa, momauhcatlaloa, tetlan tlaano in pipiltzitzinti, çan atlan in vi, cemaxl mantiuh in macevalli, tlachoquiztleva. Auh in acaleque quimacaltenque in impilhoantzitzin, quintlanelhuja, quintequitlanelhuja, aoc tle ma itla conmocujlique, çã moch conmauhcacauhtiquizque, in intlatquitzin, çan much vmpa contepeuhtiquizque. Auh in toiaovan tlanamoxtivi, quicujtivi in tlein ipan oquiçato, in tlein oquipantito quicuj, quimotquiljia in aço tilmatli, in aço quachtli, in anoço tlavixtli, in anoço teponaztli in anoço vevetl.

● 726 And those of Tlatilulco fought, there at Çoquipan,[1] in war boats. And when [the Spaniards] came to reach Xolloco, where there was a wall which cut across shutting off the road, they fired at it with the big guns. As the first [charge] fell, it did not crumble; but at the second, it collapsed; at the third, finally it quite went to the ground; and at the fourth, at last the wall [fell] completely leveled.

And the two boats moved in to meet those in war boats.[2] There was fighting in the water. And the guns occupied the entire prows of the boats. And there where the [Mexicans'] boats lay thick, where they lay close together, there, upon them, they fired. Many men died thereby. Then the boats went bobbing up and down and rocking, and sank. Just so was it with the bolts; the one upon whom they could take aim could not escape; he then died and there breathed his last. But when the Mexicans could behold and determine where the gun [shots] and bolts would strike, no longer did they follow a direct course. Only from side to side would they veer; only sideways, at a slant, they traveled.

And when [those on land] also already saw that now the big gun was to fire, they all fell to the ground: all stretched out on the ground, and lay flat. And the chieftains withdrew to enter the spaces among the houses. The road became clear; the wide road lay empty [of people].

And then [the Spaniards] proceeded to and reached Uitzillan,[3] where was yet another wall. And many [Mexicans] were spread out by it, crouched, taking refuge behind the wall. For a short time the [Spaniards'] boats were grounded there, as their prows struck land. There for a brief space they tarried while they prepared the guns.

Auh in tlatilulca vmpa tlaiecoque in çoquipan, acalchimaltica: auh in xolloco in oacico in vncan tenamjtl onoca, in onepãtla in quitzacutoca vtli: in tlequjqujztli vei, ic qujmotlaq̃, aiamo xitin in iancujcan vetz, auh injc vppa, xitin: auh injc expa, iequene vel tlaltitech ia: auh injc nappa iequene vel iccen tlaltitech ia in tenamjtl.

Auh in ontetl acalli qujnnamjctiuh in acalchimaleque, necaliva in atlan. Auh in tlequjqujztli imacaliacac tetentiuh: auh in vnca tetzavatoc acalli, in vncan tecpichauhtoc: vmpa inpan contlaça mjec tlacatl ic mjc: njman aaquetztivetzi, nenecujliuhtivetzi, papachiuhtivetzi: çan ie no ivi in tepuzmjtl in aqujn vel qujmottilia, aocmo qujça, njman mjquj, vncan qujhiovia. Auh in ovel qujttaque Mexica, in ovel qujnemjliq̃ in juh vetzi tlequjqujztli, yoã in tepuzmjtl, aocac motlamelauhcaquetza, ça ivic vivi, tlatlaxtlapaloa, ça ixtlapalhujvi.

Auh in jquac ie no qujtta in ie vetziz in vei tlequjqujztli, tlaltech viloa, tlaltech neteco, nepacholo. Auh in tiacavan cacalçtivetzque in caltzalan chipavatimoquetz in vtli, in vchpantli, ça iuhqujn chipacpul icac.

Auh njman onacico in vitzillan, in oc ce vncã onoc tenamjtl: auh mjequjntin itlan mopachoroca, qujmotoctitoca in tenamjtl: achitonca vncan ommacã, ontzotzon in jmacal, vncan achitonca onvecavaque in oqujc conchichiuhque tlequjqujztli.

1. Barrio, also known as S. Pablo, Tenpan Çoquipan, or Xoxhimilco, an area bounded now N. by Calle de Guatemala and Miguel Negrete; E., Calzada de Belisario; S., Calzada del Chabacano and Calle de Morelos; and W., Calzada de S. Antonio Abad. — Cano, op. cit.

2. See Pl. 120.

3. Near the Church of S. Pablo (corresponding Spanish text).

Thirty-first Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards came with the brigantines and took after those who were in boats in order to join battle with them, and then emerged and came to arrive near all the houses.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli oce capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles ic valietiaque in vergantines, qujnvaltocaque in acaltica nenca in qujnnamjqujto: njmā ic valquizque itech acico in jxqujch calli. 726

And when they had readied [the guns], thereupon they fired upon the wall. And the wall then gave way and parted from behind. And the second time [the shot] struck, the wall then fell to the ground destroyed; it burst open, pierced through. Then likewise the road appeared clear [of men]. And the chieftains who were by the wall then dispersed. All fled from there, escaping in terror. And all the various men [allied to the Spaniards] then quickly advanced filling each canal. Then they speedily leveled them with stones, adobes, and some logs so that they were filled.

Auh in oconchichiuhque: njmā ie ic quivalmotla in tenamjtl: auh in tenamjtl, njmā tzatzaian, cujtlaxeliuh. Auh injc vppa vetz: njmā tlaltitech ia in tenamjtl, vevelocac, vmpet, oncoion: njman no iuhquin chipacpul moquetz vtli. Auh in tiacavā in tenantitlan onoca, njmā ic valxitinque, valnetlalolo, nemauhcaqujxtilo. Auh in jxqujch nepapan tlacatl: njman iciuhca contetentivi in acalotli, njman iciuhca conjxmana tetica, xantica yoan cequj quavitl injc tlaatzopque.

And after the canals had been filled, then came the horse[men], perhaps ten of them. They rode in a circle; they came wheeling about, twisting and circling. [And] once again horse[men] came, following after the others. And a number of Tlatilulcans who had quickly entered the palace which had been the home of Moctezuma then emerged in terror, and came up against the horse[men]. One [of them] lanced a Tlatilulcan. And though he had speared him, yet he took hold firmly of the iron lance. Then his companions went up to tear it from [the rider's] hands, threw him down upon his back, and upset him. And when he had fallen tumbled to the earth, they hit him repeatedly, they struck him on the back of the head. He died there.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ommatzop acalotli: njman ie ic valeoa in cavallome, aço matlacteme, ontlaiavaloco, ontlamalacachoco, ommocovitzoco, ommotevilacachoco: ie no ceppa centlamantli valevaque in cavallome, qujnvalcujtlapāvitiaque. Auh cequjntin tlatilulca talactivetzque in tecpan catca in jchan motecuçoma: njman ic valmauhcaqujçaia, quimonmonamjctico in cavallostin: ce quixilico in tlatilulca. Auh in oquixilico, oc vel can in jtepuztopil: njman quimacujlito in jcnjvan, icujtlapan quioalmaiauhque, quivaltzineuhque: auh in otlalpan vetzico mec quivivitequj, concuexcochvivitecque, oncan ommjc.

Thereupon the Spaniards assembled and set out together. Then they reached Quauhquiyauac (the Eagle Gate). And they took with them the lombard gun and the equipment which went with it. They placed it at the Eagle Gate. (And for this reason is it called the Eagle Gate, that there stood an eagle carved in stone, a good man's height tall — so high — and flanking it stood, on one side, an ocelot, and on [the other] a wolf, likewise hewn of stone [)].

Niman ie ic quioalcentlaça, oalcemolinj in Españoles: njmā ic onacico in quauhqujiavac. Auh in tomacac tlequiqujztli quivicativi, intlatquj ietiuh, contecaque in quauhqujiavac. (Auh injc moteneoa quauhqujiacac, ca vncan icaca in quauhtli, tetl in tlaxixintli, vel cennequetzalli injc quauhtic, inic vecapan: auh qujcatzacutimanj, in centlapal icaca ocetl: auh in centlapal icain cujtlachtli, çanno tetl in tlaxintli. Auh in ie iuhquj in vevei tiacavan, oc nē [351] [532]

726 And, when this had come to pass, the great chieftains in vain took refuge behind the stone columns; and the stone columns [were] in two rows, altogether eight [of them]. And also the chieftains crowded on the roof terrace of the Coacalli.[1] They filled the roof terrace. None of the chieftains [could] go beyond.

And the Spaniards at first remained quiet. And when they fired the gun, it became very dark; smoke spread out. And those who were hiding behind the stone columns all fled; and all those who were on the roof terrace hurled themselves down, and all ran far away. Then [the Spaniards] took up the gun and went to place it upon the large, round stone. And on top of the [pyramid Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, holding vigil to no purpose, [priests] struck two-toned drums; as if with all force they struck the two-toned drums. And then two Spaniards climbed up, going to club them there. And when they had gone there to strike them, they cast them down; they threw them down from there.

And the shorn ones, all the chieftains, who had been fighting in boats, all came forth and issued on to the dry land. And those who plied the boating poles for them [were] the young boys; only these guided the boats. And upon this the chieftains then took note of the spaces among the houses. They ran fast; all in truth shouted and said: "O chieftains, make haste!"

And when it came to pass that the Spaniards saw that they were about to come to grips with and pursue them,[2] then they cowered and sped away; they turned tail; they indeed fled and ran. From both sides they were shot at with darts and barbed arrows; and from both sides they were pelted with stones. Shortly, then, they went to find respite at Xolloco, to catch their breath. There [the battle] quieted, and thereupon [the Mexicans] all turned back. And the Spaniards then also returned and went to establish themselves at Acachinanco. But the gun, in their haste, they abandoned there on the large, round stone. Then the chieftains seized it, ran it forward, and went to toss it into the water. They pulled it to Tetamaçolco.[3]

quimotototiticaca in tetlaquetzalli: auh in tetlaquetzalli ompantli, nepan chicuej. Auh in coacalli itlapãioc, no tetentoque in tiacavan, motlatlapantenque aocac ixtlapal iuh in tiacavan.

Auh in Españoles çã njman amo mamana: auh in oquitlazque tlequjqujztli cenca tlaiovac, poctli motecac. Auh in quimotoctitimanca in tetlaquetzalli, netlaloloc yoan in jxquichtin tlapanco onoca valmotepeuhque veca netlaloloc, nec quivallecavia in tlequjqujztli contecaco temalacatitlan: auh in jcpac vitzilobuchtli, oc nẽ tlapiaia, quivitequja in teponaztli, iuhqujn ontetemj quivitequj teponaztli: auh njmã ic ontlecoque vmentin Españoles, vmpa quimonvivitequjto: auh in oquimonvivitequjto in ca valmaiauhque, qujnvalchicanauhque:

auh in quaquachictin in jxquichtin in tiacavan in acaltica tlaiecoaia, muchintin valquizque, vallalvacaquizque: auh in tetlaelhuja in telpopotziçinti, çan ichoãtin in quivalhuivicaque in acalli. Auh in ie iuhquj in tiaiacavan, nec quimottilia in caltzalantli vellatotoca, vel netzatzililo: quitoa. Tiacavane, ma vallatotoca:

auh in ie iuhquj, in oquittaque in Españoles in ie impan monamjquj in ie quintotona, njmã ic mocotoztlalique, motepuztique, vel totoca, motlaloa nococcampa in valmjnaloia in tlatzontectica, yoan nococcampa in valtepacholo, quja vmpan xolloco patito, imjhio quicujto, vmpa valmomanaro: njman ie ic valnecuepalo. Auh in ichoantin Españoles, njman ic no mocuepa motlalito in acachinanco: auh in tlequjqujztli vncan quicauhtiquizque in temalacatitlan: njman conanque in tiacavan, quitotoza quimaiavito atlan, tetamaçolco quitztlitiaque.

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1. Spanish text: "*mucha otra gente estaua encima de la casa que estaua cercada sobre los cubiertos.*" The Coacalli is described in Book VIII — *Kings and Lords*, p. 94.

2. *Quinnemitoc*: probably *quinnemiz in mosque*.

3. Spanish text: "*en esta agua profunda que llamauã Tlilmaçoyan, que esta cabe el mesmo que se llama Tetamaçolco, donde estaua los barcos.*"

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Thirty-second Chapter. Here is told how the Mexicans in terror left their city, from fear which they felt of the Spaniards.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli omume capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica valmauhcaquizque in vncan imaltepeuh ipan in quimjmacaque Españoles. 726

And meanwhile those of Tenochtitlan came to enter, here, in Tlatilulco. There were cries of weeping, and there were shouts. Many were the tears of the beloved women. And the men[1] went with their women. One or another carried his child upon his shoulders. When, then, they abandoned their city, it was for only a day. And the Tlatilulcans yet again went there to Tenochtitlan to give battle.

And at this time Pedro Alvarado yet once more moved there against Iliacac, which is toward Nonoalco. Nothing could he accomplish. It was as if he had arisen against a stone. For those of Tlatilulco put forth great effort. On both sides was there fighting, on the road and on the water with war boats. When Alvarado grew tired, then he turned back and went to camp at Tlacopan. And only two days after they had thrown against them the boats which first went — only[2] two — then all [the boats] set forth together and stopped at the outer houses of Nonoalco. Thereupon they issued on to the dry land, the firm ground. Then they followed the narrow road, [into] the heart of the settlement.

And when the Spaniards came, all was clear. No man of the common folk appeared. But Tzilacatzin, a great chieftain and very brave, then cast three of his stones which he carried — great, huge, round rocks: wall stones, or white stones. One he had in his hand; two he bore upon his shield. Thereupon he gave chase to and went against the Spaniards, dispersing and scattering them in the water. Into the water they went. In truth, heavily laden on the water [were the boats] as they went down [into them].

Auh in jquac in, in tenuchca valcalaqque in ojcan tlatilulco, tlachoquiztlaoa, tlatzatziztleoa, izcachi in jmjxaio cioatzitzinti: auh in toquichtin qujnvivicatqe in incicivaoã in aca quiquechpanoa in jpiltzin: njmã iquac in quicsuhque in jmaltepeuh ça cemjlhujtl. Auh in tlatilulca ie ne vmpa itztivi in tenuchtitlan in mjcalizque.

Auh in ie ihbquj in Pedro aluarado: ie ne vmpa quivallaz in iliacac, in jvicpa nonoalco, aiatic vel quichiuhque, ihbquin tetitech onevaco: ichica ca in tlatilulca cenca mochicahuhque, necoc in tlaiecoloc, vtli ipan, yoan atlan in acalchimaltica: in omoxixiuhtlati in aluarado, njmã ic mocuep, motlalito in tlacoban: auh çan jviptlaioc in quivalcentlazque in acalli in acachto valla, can oc ontetl: auh çatepã muchi cẽquiça in caltenco nonoalco onmotemato: njman ie ic oalquiça in tlalhoacpã, in tlalhoacpan: njma ie ic quivaltoca opitzactli, in calla icac, quivaliolloia.

Auh in vncan valquizque Españoles ocactivetz, aocac tlacatl oquiz in maçevalli. Auh in tzilacatzin vei tlacauh cenca oquichtli: njmã ic quivallaz, etetl in quiquj ietuh, vevei tepopul mamalacachtic ie in tenaiocatetl, anoco iztac tetl, centetl imac ietiuh, vntetl ichimaltitlan ietiuh, njman ie ic quintoca quimontepevaio atlan, quimõtzavato in Españoles, ça atlan in oniaque, vel aaxtizque in ontetemoque

1. *Tequjchtin*: literally, we men, an emendation rendered in this translation.
2. *Can*: probably *çan* is meant.

701 (And this Tzilacatzin was an Otomí [warrior], as a chieftain, because of his Otomí hairdress. For he despised his foes, even the Spaniards. He disdained them; in truth, all were completely terrified. When they saw Tzilacatzin, our foes then cowered. And much did they try to slay him; either to pierce him with iron bolts, or shoot him with a gun. But [301] Tzilacatzin disguised himself, that he might not be recognized. At times he put on a device; he hung his lip pendants and inserted his golden ear plugs, and he put on a neck band of small white shells; but his head went uncovered, so that it was apparent that he was an Otomí. And sometimes [he had] only his heavy cotton shirt and a thin band with which he wrapped his forehead. And at times he [293] disguised himself by putting on a feather headdress and wig, a head band with [two] eagle feather tufts which went at the back of the head, used to bind [his hair]. Thus did one go with it bound at the time that men were cast into the fire.[3] He went in the guise of one who cast men into the fire; he went imitating those who cast men into the fire. [He had] his golden arm bands; on both arms he had them — in both places he had them on his arms. And the [301] golden arm bands glistened.[4] And also he had about the calves of his legs, leather bands — gilded leg bands, which shone.)

(Auh inin Tzilacatzin otomjtl catca injc tiacauh, ipampa in tlaotonxintli, iehica amo imjxco tlachiaia in iniaovan in manel Españoles, amo tle impan qujmjttaia, vel tlacenmamauhtiaia: in jquac in qujttaia in Tzilacatzin, njman mocototztlalixia in toiaovan: auh cenca qujtemoaia, injc qujmjctiaque, in aço qujtepuzmjviaque, in anoço qujtlequjqujzvizque. Auh in Tzilacatzin, çā mjxpoloa injc amo iximachoz: in quenman tlaviztli in ommaqujaia, itenpilol compiloaia, yoan iteteucujtlanacoch yoā conmococatia in jcuaquj chipoli, çan tlapouhtiuh in jtzontecon, neztiuh injc otomjtl: auh in quēmanjan çanjo in ichcavipil canactontli injc ommoquaqujmjloa, auh in ōmanjan injc mjxpoloa cōmaqujaia ihujtzoncalli, quatzone quauhtlalpiloaj icuexcochtlampa tentiuh, ic tlalpitiuh iehoatl injc tetlepantlaxoia, iuhquin tetlepantlazquj ipā qujztiuh, quintlaiciecalhujtiuh in tetlepantlazque iteteucujtlamatemecauh nococampa in ietiuh yiocanjxti ietiuh in jmac: auh in teucujtlamatemecātl cuēcuenio auh no ie in jcxic ieietiuh, cotzeoatl, teucujtlacotzeoatl çan petlanquj)

● 726 And then, next day, when once again their boats set out, they grounded them at Nonoalco, at Ayauhcaltitlan.[5] And then also came out those who went afoot, as well as all the Tlaxcallans and Otomí. Indeed, in force the Spaniards issued to fall upon [the Mexicans]. And when they came to and arrived at Nonoalco, thereupon there were battle and fighting; in truth there spread strife and war. Death was dealt on both sides. All their foes were shot at with arrows, and also all the Mexicans. On both sides equally was there suffering. Thus all day and all night they all fought.

Auh njmā imuztlaioc in ie no cuel cppa quiçaco in jmacal conacanaco nonoalco, ataubcaltitlā: auh njman no quiçaco in tlaxtipanvia yoan in ie ixqujch tlaxcaltecatl yoan otomjtl, vel tonac in quintepevitivitze in Españoles. Auh in oacico nonoalco: njmā ie ic tlaiecolo, necaliva, vel motetemman in tlaiecolitzli in iauiotl, necoc in mjcoaia ixqujch mjnalca in iniaovan, no ixqujch in mexicatl, necoc ivi, nececolo, iuh cemjlhujtl, iuh ionc in necaliouc.

But [there were] two great chieftains who turned not their faces, who despised those who were their foes, who set no value upon their bodies. The first man was named Tzayectzin; the second was named Temoctzin. And a third was the [afore]mentioned Tzilacatzin.

Çan vmen in vevei tiacaoā in amo mjtzacujlianj, in atle inpan qujmitta in iniaovā catca, in amo qujtlaçotlaia in innacaio. Jnjc ce tlacatl itoca Tzaiectzin. Jnjc vme itoca, Temoctzin: auh ic teeca in omoteneuh in Tzilacatzin.

3. See Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II — *The Ceremonies*, Chapter 28.

4. *Ceremonies* probably mentions it as usual.

5. A part of Nonoalco, in Tlatilolco — Cano, *op. cit.*

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And when the Spaniards tired, when they could achieve nothing, when they could not break through the Mexicans, then they went, and entered [their encampment], much afflicted in spirit. Their allies went following behind them.

Auh in oncuiuhtiuiqoe in Españoles, in avel quiachion, in avel quiqopeoa in Mexica: njman ic iaque, calacque, vel imellel acic, quiocuiitlapanvitivi in itlavilanalhoan. 726

[p. 90 is blank]

726 **Thirty-third Chapter, in which is told how the people of the floating gardens, those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac, and of Itztapalapan, and still others, came to help the Mexicans.**

726 648 And once it came to pass that the people of Xochimilco, Mizquic, Colhuacan, Mexicatzinco, and Itztapalapan sent emissaries who came to confer with Quauhtemoc and still other noblemen and chieftains. They came, saying to them: "O my beloved prince, with a little we have come to give aid to the city. Perchance it may be that thus the debt is paid [you]. These are the words of the rulers who yet guard there. In truth here dwell the rulers; so have come and assembled the eagle and ocelot [warriors] in boats, in order, they say, now to drive off our foes."

And upon this, when they had said their say, when they had spoken, thereupon [Quauhtemoc] replied to them: "It is well. Ye have shown favor [to us]; ye have suffered trials and tribulations. Help the city. Let there be battle!"

415 431 572 After this, he gave them gifts; he gave them devices and shields, and they gave them each chocolate. To each one they gave a shallow gourd vessel of chocolate. Thereupon he said to them: "Onward! Let there be battle, O chieftains! For our foes already are come!" Thereafter went the emissaries there to where lived those of Cuitlauac; they escorted them there. And as they went, then grew the crying of war cries everywhere along the road. Thereafter there was fighting.

726 But these people of Xochimilco then also raised a war cry and fell upon the boats. In no wise did they help us, but only, then, robbed the people. They despoiled the beloved women and the small children, and the beloved old women. Then some they there slew; there these breathed their last. And still others they did not slay, but carefully lowered them into the boats.

And when already they were doing this, when already they were spiriting the people away, then chieftains raised an outcry. They said: "O Mexicans, what now are the fools doing? Let all pursue them!" Thereupon there were war cries. They gave them chase in boats.

Injc ompoalli onmatlactli omei capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn chinanpaneca in Suchmjlca, cujtlavaca, yoan in Jtztapalapaneca, yoan oc cequjntin vallaque in qujnpalevizquja mexica

Auh ceppa muchiuh in iehoantin suchmjlca, cujtlaoaca mjzqujca, colhoaque, Mexicatzincatl, Jtztapalapanecatl, vallaivaque, qujnonotzaco in quauhtemoctzin, yoā in oc cequjntin in tlatoque, in tiacavan: qujmjlhujco. Nopiltzintzine ca achitzin ic ticpalevico in atl, in tepetl, aço velitiz ca çan ic ixtlavico in intlatol in tlatoque, in oc vmpa tlapia, ca nel njcan onoque in tlatoque, ca ovallaque, ocenqujçaco in quauhtli ocelutl in acaltica: ca qujl axcā qujcentlaçaz in toiaouh.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oconjtoque in intlatol, in ontlanonotzque njman ie ic qujmjlhuja. Ca ie qualli, oanmotlacnelilique oanqujmjhioviltique, oanqujmociaviltique ma xicmopalevilican in altepetl, ma tlaiciecavi:

njman ie ic qujntlauhtia, qujnmaca in tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan qujncacacavatique, cecen xicalpechtli in qujnmacaque cacaoatl: njmā ie ic qujmjlhuja. tlacueleoatl, tla tlaiciecavi tiacaoane, ca ie vitze in toiaovan, njma ie ic vi in titlanti in vmpa onoque in cujtlavaca in qujnvalhujcaque. Auh in oiaque njman ic maantimoquetz in tlacavaca in jzqujcan vtlica: njman ie ic necalioa.

Auh in iehoantin in, in Suchimjlca njman ie ic no icavaca, yoan macalhujtequj: amo ma techpalevique, çan njmā ie ic tenamoia, qujnnamoxque in cioatztzinti, yoan in pipiltzitzinti, yoan in jlamatzitzin njman cequjntin vncan q'nmjctique vncan ihiotl qujz. Auh in oc cequjntin amo qujnmjctique, çan ivian acalco qujmontemovique.

Auh in ie iuh qujchioa inin ie tenaoalpoloa: njman ic tzatzique in tequjvaque, qujtoque. Mexicae tlein ic qujchioa in, tlaveliloque? ma vallatotoca: njman ie ic tlacavaca, qujntoca acaltica.

●726 And all the boats which were at Nonoalco then were assembled there; all left from there in order to pursue. Then they proceeded to hem in those of Xochimilco. Thereupon they slew them; they speared and beat them. But some they only took. And almost all died there; in truth, there they were destroyed. And all [the women] whom they had seized, all of them they left there. None of the beloved women were taken away.

And while this was already coming to pass, then the Spaniards settled back.

And just as those of Xochimilco had devised, and would have done, just so [the Spaniards] would do away with us through deceit. And all whom they seized of Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, etc., they thereupon brought and hurried there to Yacacolco, where now is [the Church of] Santa Ana.[1] There were Quauhtemoc and Mayeuatzin, ruler of Cuitlauac (for he was here at the time of the war).

And when [those of Cuitlauac] had been brought, they greeted Mayeuatzin. They said to him: O my younger brother, [may it] be well with thee." But Mayeuatzin replied to them: "You fools, have I perchance bidden you? What have you done?" And Quauhtemoc then said to Mayeuatzin: "O my younger brother, do thy work." And Mayeuatzin thereupon offered up as sacrifices four, whom he slew, of his vassals. Likewise Quauhtemoc slew four.

And later, of all who were included among the captives, it was commanded that they be slain, everywhere in the temples of the devils. Everywhere the captives gave blood to [the images].

726 687 And afterwards the Mexicans were wroth because of this. They said: "Verily, here among us, mingling with us, are the people of Xochimilco; they have already made their homes here. Do they not, in truth, deliver their messages [to our foes]? So these we shall take forth; they shall perish!" And upon this, when judgment was indeed pronounced, thereupon were drawn out all the beloved women and old women, and those already mature. All were slain. None were spared, because of those who went bearing false witness of them and doing undeserved ill: those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac who came [saying] they would help us.

Auh in nonoualco in onoca in jxquich acalli: njmā ic muchi vmpa mocemjtequjc, much vmpa in inic tlantoca: njmā ic quintzacujlico in Suchimjlca: njman ie ic temjctia, texitili, teviviteuj. Auh cequintin çan quimacique: auh vel muchintin, vncā mjcque, vel oncan mjztlatique. Auh in jxquichtin in quimacique, çā muchtin vncan quincaubq̄ aiac vicoc in cioatzitzinti.

Auh in jquac ie iuh muchioa in, njman ic mocotoztlalique in Españoles.

Auh in juh quimolhujca, in juh quichivazquja xochimjlca, çan ic technaoalpolozquja: auh in jxquichtin quimacique in suchimjlca: in Cujtlavaca. &c. njman ie ic quinvica, quintototza in vmpa Jacaculco, in axcan ie sant Ana: vmpa icaca in Quauhtemoctzi, yoan in Maichoatzin, cujtlaoac tlatoanj (ca njcan ipan muchiuh in iauiotl).

Auh in oaxivaque contlapaloa imanj in Maichoatzin: conjlhuja. Nicauhtzine, n.oiolicatzin: auh in maichoatzin, quinvalilhuja. In antlapalpopul cujx namechcujcujtlavi, tle oamaxque. Auh in quauhtemoctzin njman quioalilhuj in Maichoatzin. Nicauhtzine ma ximotlacotili: auh in Maichoatzin: njman ie ic tlamjctia, navi in cōmjcti in jmaceoalhoan: no navi in conmjcti in Quauhtemoctzin.

Auh in çatepan in ac onaquj in mamalti, oallanavatiloc injc mjctiloxque novian in intetreupan tlathcateculo, vel novian tepanjxque in mamalti.

Auh çatepā ie ic qualanj in Mexica: quitoque. Ca njcan totlanonoc, technelotoc in suchimjlcatl in ie njcan chanchiva, amo nel vmpa contlalia in jtlatol. Auh inin ça tiquincaoa, çan popolivi: auh in ie iuhquj, in ovel motzōtec, njman ie ic teçaçaco in cioatzitzinti, in jlamatzitzin yoā in ie tlapalivi, muchintin mjmjctiloque, aocac mocauhque, ca iuhquin quimontlatolevito, quimoncujtlachivito in ovallaque in techpalevizquja xochmjlcatl, in cujtlaoacatl.

1. Spanish text: "en el Tlatilulco." A barrio, "sede del gobierno de Cuauhtémoc, donde actualmente se encuentra el templo de Santa Ana en la calle del Peralvillo," according to R. H. Barlow: "Una pintura de la conquista en el templo de Santiago," Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos, VI (1945), p. 58. Cano (op. cit.) identifies it as a similarly named neighborhood in the barrio of Sta. Ana Atzacualco, near Tenochtitlan.

And then, some days later, two boats came there to Ysuhtenco.[2] The Spaniards came alone, proceeding in the early dawn. There were no [allied Indian] men; [the Spaniards] came quite alone. And upon this, when they had beached their boats, they thereupon leaped out on dry land. And when they had set forth on the firm ground, then they came giving battle. They went each firing guns and crossbows.

And the chieftains flattened themselves behind walls; they remained hidden in houses or behind walls. And the sentinel [had] as his care and charge [to know] when to break forth. And when it was already good time, at the right moment, he then cried out and said: "O Mexicans, onward!"

Auh njman iquezqujlhujoc, ontetl in acalli quj-726
ꝛaco, vncan in jiauhtenco çan mjxcavico in Espa-
ñoles, ioatzinco in qujçaco, aiaac tlacatl, çan oc val-
mjxcavitiaque. Auh in ie ihquj in oconacanque
imacal: njman ie ic vallalhoacaqujça: auh in oval-
lalhoacaqujzque njman ie ic mjcaltivitze, tlatlequj-
qujzvitivitze, tlatepuzmjvitivitze.

Auh in tiacavan cẽca mopachoa tenantitlan, yoã qujmototoctitimanj in calli anoço tepantli. Auh in iautlachixquj vel yix itequjuh in canjn neovaz: auh in ie qualcã in ie inman, njman ie ic tzatzi: qujtoa. Mexicae ma ie cuel.

2. Part of Mexicalzin. — Ibid.

[p. 94 is blank]

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726 **Thirty-fourth Chapter, in which is told how the Mexicans took captive and seized fifteen[1] Spaniards.**

"O Mexicans, onward!"

On this, the sentinel raised a war cry. [Shell] trumpets were sounded, and they charged with shield.

Thereupon they took after the Spaniards, they followed dispersing them and taking captives. Fifteen of the Spaniards were seized. Then they brought them in. And their boats [the enemy] withdrew, going to stand by in the middle of the lagoon.

727 And when they had brought the eighteen where they were to die, there at the place called Tlacochcalco,[2] they thereupon stripped them; they took from them all their arms and their cotton armor, and all which was on them. All they tore from them. Then they were made slaves; they slew them. And their companions remained watching them from the middle of the lagoon.[3]

726 And at one time they put in two of their boats there at Xocotitlan.[4] When they had landed, thereupon they went looking in the settlement of the people of Xocotitlan. And Tzilacatzin and other chieftains, when they saw the Spaniards, set upon them and sent them fleeing, casting stones at them as they went. They came to chase the Spaniards into the water.

And another time [the Spaniards] brought their boats there to Coyonacazco[5] to wage war and give battle. And on arriving, then some Spaniards came out. Leading them came Castañeda Xicotencatl,[6] who walked wearing his [device of] quetzal feather

Inje cempoalli ommatlactli onnavi capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn ichoantin Mexica tlamaque in qujmacique Españoles caxtolti.

Mexicae ma ie cuel:

njman ie ic tlacaoaca, yoan tlapitzalo yoan chimallaça in iautlachjxquj:

njman ie ic qujntoca in Españoles, qujmaiauhtivi yoā qujmantivi, caxtoltin in anoque in Españoles: njmā ic qujnoalhujcaque: auh in jmacal njmā ic qujtzinqujxtique, anepantla contecato.

Auh in oqujmaxitico caxtoltin omei in vncan mjqujzque itoca: tlacuchcalco: njmā ie ic qujnpepetlaoa, moch qujncujlique in iniautlatquj, yoā in jmjchcavipil, yoan in jxqujch in intech catca, moch qujntepeoaltique: njman ie ic tlacoti qujnmjctia: auh in jmjcnjoan qujnvalittoque anepantla.

Auh ceppa qujcalaqujque vntetl in imacal in vmpa xocotitlā: in oconacanque, njmā ie ic vmpa itztivi in incalla xocoteca. Auh in Tzilacatzin, yoan oc cequjntin tiacaoan: in oqujmittaque in Españoles: njman intech oalietiqujzque, qujnoallalochtocaque, qujntepachotivi, atlan qujntepeoaco in Españoles.

Auh ie no ceppa qujoalhujcaque in jmacal in vncan coionacazco inje tlaiecozque, inje mjcalizque. Auh in oacico njman ic valqujzque cequjntin Españoles, qujnvaliacan in castañeda xicotencatl: iquetzaltemal ietinemj. Nimā ie ic vallatepuzmjvia: auh

1. Eighteen are mentioned later. Cf. also Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 189 (*chapter heading*). The corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* has fifteen.

2. Bustamante, *loc. cit.*: "*en que estaba una cava que era como casa de audiencia, cerca de donde agora es la iglesia de Santa Ana.*"

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*los mexicanos los cercaron dejando del pueblo que se llamaua Mazquitoxtic y los cerro españoles estauan mirando desde los cerros[illegible] como los mataron.*"

4. Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 190: "*que se agora [el barrio de] S. Francisco.*" Cano (*op. cit.*) says it is the same as Cihuatempan, in Mecamalinalco.

5. Bustamante, *loc. cit.*: "*cerca del barranco de Sta. Lucia* (*que por otro nombre se llamaua Aztaxaxi*)." Cano (*op. cit.*) identifies Coyonacazco as a part of the barrio of Tolpanchololtitlan, to the north in Tlatilolco. R. H. Barlow ("Cinco siglos de las calles de Tlatelolco," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, IX [1947], p. 32) places it "*no lejos de la estación del Ferrocarril de Hidalgo.*" A map in Antonieta Espejo and R. H. Barlow: "El plano más antiguo de Tlatelolco," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, I (1944), shows it in the northeast part of the city.

6. Bustamante, *loc. cit.*: "*Rodrigo de Castañeda* (*á quien los indios llamaban Xicotencatl, por usarse hombres*)."

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●726 balls. Thereupon they shot iron bolts; but only one was pierced, in the forehead, wherefore he then died. Castañeda was the one who shot the arrow. And the chieftains moved in against him and they drove [the Spaniards] into the water, stoning them. And Castañeda there would have perished, but he clung to the boat and thus they carried him to Xocotitlan.

[349] And one boat lay at Tetenanteputzco, where the walls curve.[7] And another boat lay there at To-

[491] tecco,[8] where the road goes direct to Tepetzinco.[9] It only lay on guard in the water, and at nightfall they took it [away].

And some days thereafter the Spaniards once

[443 317] again resolved [to war upon] us.[10] Then they came, and chose the Quauecatitlan[11] road which led direct to the salt market. But there on the Quauecatitlan road, they could not spread out. So all those of Tlaxcalla, Acolhuacan, and Chalco thereupon filled in the canals.[12] And on the road where they could not spread out, they cast adobes and roof beams; door lintels, pillars, and round logs were set in; they threw bundles of reeds into the water. And when it was filled in, then the Spaniards, disposed [in battle order], very slowly proceeded: a cotton banner led them; they went blowing trumpets and bearing drums. And behind them went in position all the Tlaxcallans, and indeed all those of [other allied]

[533] cities. Those of Tlaxcalla became very brave; they shook their heads, beat their chests, and sang. The Mexicans also sang. There was chanting on both sides. They intoned whatsoever they remembered. Thus they were able to animate themselves.

And as they reached Tlalhuacan,[13] all the chieftains were crouched; they stretched themselves out very flat, and were well hidden. They hid their

ça ce inmjnoc ixquac, njman ic momjqujli: iehoatl in valtemj in castañeda. Auh in tiacaoā itech ietiquizque, atlan quinnemjtique, quintetepachoque: auh vncā mjquizquja in castañeda: auh ça acalitech pilcatia injc quivicaque xocotitlan.

Auh centetl acalli onoca tetenanteputzco, vncā in colivi tetenamjtl: auh in oc centetl acalli vmpa onoca in totecco: in jpan vtli tlamelaoa Tepetzinco, çan tlatlīpixtoca in atlan. Auh in ie ioa quivica.

Auh iquezquilhujoc ie no ceppa techcentlatalhuj in Españoles: nec vitze, ie quioalmottilique in quauecatitlan vtli, in oallamelauhticac iztanamacoian. Auh in vncan in quauecatitlan in vtli ca moiauhque. Auh in jxquich tlaxcaltecatl, in aculhoacatl, in chalcatl: njman ie ic catzupa in acalutli: yoan in oca moiauhque vtli: contlaça in xamjtl, yoan in calquavitl, in tecoc in tlaixquatl in tlaquetzalli, in quīmjmjlli, in acatl quicujtlalpia in contepeoa atlan. Auh in jquac in omotzop nec valmotema in Españoles, cencā ivian in iativitze, quiniacana in quachpanjtl, tlapitztivitze, tlatzotzontivitze. Auh imjcampā onotivitze in ie ixquich tlaxcaltecatl, yoan in ie ixquich altepeoa, cenca muchicava moquaquacuecuechoa, meeltzotzona in tlaxcalteca, cujca, no cujca in mexica necococampa cujco, quecu in çaço tlein quijnamiquj, ic mellaquaoa muchioa.

Auh in oacico tlalhoacan in tiacaoā vel nepacholo, vel mopachoa vel netlatilo, quitetetzontlaliaia, quichixtoque in quemman teevitilor, in quenman quj-

7. Corresponding Spanish text: *"cerca de aquella yglesia que se llama oltra hasia."* Cano (*op. cit.*) places it in la Garita de Peralvillo, *barrio* of Tlaxcochimilco.

8. *"Cerca de la Cano...pasaba derecamtida."* — Cano, *op. cit.*

9. El Peñón de los Baños — east of the center of Texcoco, in the lake. However, Espejo and Barlow, *op. cit.*, p. 46 and map, locate it as a hill in the southeastern part of Tlatilulco.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: *"determinaron entre si los españoles de darnos guerra por alli."*

11. Quauhcatitlan suppli—*"calle que iba derecha de Nonoalco al Mercado de la Sal. . . . probaqualo hasta encontrar el Alharradón y probablemente correspondia con la Calzada de Nonoalco, Mercado, Almacenes, Carretjal y Rivera."* — Cano, *op. cit.* Espejo and Barlow, *op. cit.*, show it in their map as in the northeast part of the city.

12. In Bustamante, *loc. cit.*, the version is somewhat different from what appears in either the Spanish or Nahuatl text of the *Florentine Codex*: *"por razon de los españoles que los indios habian muerto en su presencia, tornaron á proponer guerra de nuevo, haciendo juramento solemne que la guerra no habia de cesar hasta que vengasen la muerte de sus hermanos los españoles, y no quedase hombre dellos que no muriese en sus manos. de alli adelante comenzaron á cegar todas las acequias y caminos de canoas por donde pudiesen entrar los canoas donde los hespañoles no pudiesen entrar, y asi comenzaron á derribar casas, y allanar todas las acequias."*

13. Corresponding Spanish text: *"en barrio que se llama Tlalnacan que es aquen canoa mjor"* (San Martin).

heads. They waited until the time that the command to charge would be given, the time that they would hear the battle cry, and the order to advance. And when the cry was given, [it was]: "O Mexicans, onward against them!" Then the Tlapaneca Ecatzin, an Otomí [warrior], came to engage them and to hurl himself at them. He said: "O chieftains of Tlatilulco, onward! Who are these barbarians? Move forward!" Then he proceeded to throw himself against a Spaniard and struck him to the ground. This [Ecatzin] came first to cast him to the ground. He did it to him first. And when he had gone to overthrow him, then they went dragging the Spaniard off.

caqujzque tzatziliztli, in teevitiliztli: auh in otza- 726
tzioac. Mexicae, ma ie cuel iehoatl: njman ic qujvaliati, in Tlapanecatl he·a·zin, otomjtl, inca ommomotlac: qujto. Tiiacavane tlatilulcae, ma ie cuel, aqujque inin Tenjme, xivalnenemjcan: njman ic ica ce maiavito in Español, tlalli ic qujvitec: iehoatl in valiacattivia in qujmaiavito in qujvaliacatitivia. Auh in oqujmaiavito: nec convilanato in Español.

[p. 98 is blank]

726 **Thirty-fifth Chapter.** Here is related how once again the Mexicans took captives and seized Spaniards, and, as counted, the captured Spaniards [were] fifty-three. And also [were taken] many men of Tlaxcalla, Texcoco, Chalco, and Xochimilco. Also [it is told] how they slew all in sacrifice there before those which were their gods.

Injc cempoalli on exrtolli capitulo: vncan motenecoa, in quenjn ie no ceppa tlamaque mexica in quimacique Españoles, in juh mopouhque in axivaque Españoles, ontecpãtli ommatlactli omei: yoã no mjequjn tlaxcalteca, Tetzcuca, chalca, xuchmjlca. Auh in quenjn muchtin, vncã quinmjctique in imjxpan inTeuoan catca./.

And when this had come to pass, then the chieftains who had been crouched, together fell upon them; they fell upon them from their ambush in the spaces among houses. And the Spaniards, when they saw this, [were] as if drunk. Thereupon were
727 captives made. Many men of Tlaxcalla, Acolhua-
726 can, Chalco, Xochimilco, etc., were taken. Verily, myriads of captives were made and men slain. Truly, they forced the Spaniards into the water, and indeed all the [allied] people.

Auh in ie iuhquj in jxqujchtin tiiacavan, nec quivalcentlaça in omopachotoca, caltzalantli quivaltotocatiquizque. Auh in Españoles in oquittaque ça iuhqujn tlavãque: njman ie ic tlamalo, mjequintin in axivaque in tlaxalteca, in aculhoaque, in chalca, in xuchmjlca, &c. vel tonacatlamaloc, tonacamjcoac, vel atlan quinnemjtique in Españoles, yoã in ie ixqujch tlacatl:

And the road became very slippery. It could no longer be traveled; each one could only slip and slide. And the captives were dragged along. Here in this place the [Spaniards'] standard was taken. Here it was seized. Those of Tlatilulco took it. It was captured there where now is [the church] named San Martín. But [the Spaniards] showed no concern over it; they were not troubled over it.[1] And others escaped [the Mexicans'] hands. They went leaving them exhausted at Colhuacatonco,[2] at the edge of the canal. There they retired to establish themselves.

auh in vtli vel petzcauhtimoquetz, aoc vel nenemoa, ça nepepetzcolo, ça neaalaoalo. Auh in mamaltin tevivilano. Ie vncan in, in axioac in vandera, vncan anoc: iehoantin caciq in Tlatilulca: vncan in macic, in ie axcan sanct Martin moteneoa: çan atle ipã quittaque, amo õnecujtlaviloc. Auh in oc cequjntin tematitlampa quizque: vmpa quimõciauhcavato in colhoacatonco, acalotenco, vmpa valmomanato.

727 And after this they took the captives there to Yacacolco. They were urged forward; they went surrounding their captives. One went weeping; one singing; one crying war cries while striking the mouth with the palm of the hand. And when they had been brought to Yacacolco, thereupon they were placed in rows, in files. One by one they proceeded to the small pyramid, where they were slain. First went the Spaniards. They took the lead. But all those of the [allied] cities came only last, following. And when they had been slain, then they strung the

Auh njmã ie ic qujnvica in mamaltin in vmpa iacacolco, tetototzalo, quimololhujtivi in immalhoan, in aca chocatiuh, in aca cujcatiuh, in aca motenvitectiuh. Auh in onteaxitiloc iacaculco: njmã ie ic tevipano, tevipanolo, ceceniaca oniatimanj in mumuzco, in vncan tlamjctilo, iacattiaq in Españoles, coniacatique: auh ça vntlatzacujque, ontlatoqujlique in ixqujchtin altepeoaque. Auh in ontlamjctiloc, nec quinquaquauhço in intzontecon in Españoles: no quiçoçoque in cavallosme intzõtecon, tlatzintlan in qujtecaque: auh in intzontecon Españoles tlacpac

1. It was captured by an Indian from Tlatilulco named Tlapanecatl or Tlapanecatl Iacanán, according to the version in Bustamante, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-192; here it is said that this exploit preceded the capture of the fifty-three Spaniards.

2. A barrio in the Parcialidad de Sta. María la Redonda Coyoacan or Tlacpaclalocan; now bounded N. by Calle del Organo; E., República de Chile; S., Perú; W., Allende (approximately). — Cano, *op. cit.*

727 [severed] heads of the Spaniards, each one, on the [horizontal] staves [of the skull rack]. They also strung up the heads of the horses, arranging them below, while the heads of the Spaniards were above.[3] It appeared as if they were strung facing the [rising] sun. But [as for] all the various [allied] people, they did not string up the heads of the people of distant provinces. And fifty-three Spaniards were captured, and four horses.

in onoca, in çoçotnca, tonatiuh quixnamjctoca. Auh in jxquich nepapan tlacatl, amo quinçoçoque in intzontecõ in veca tlaca. auh in axioaque Españoles ontecpantli onmatlactli omei, yoan nauhtetl cavallos:

726 Nevertheless, in all places watch was kept. There was fighting. Not because of [this success] did posting of watchmen cease. Everywhere those of Xochimilco went hemming us in, in their boats. On both sides were captives taken; on both sides there was killing.

auh tel novian tlatlapielo, necalioa: amo ic mocaoa in tlapieliztli, in novian techiaoalotinemj in xuchmjca in acaltica, nococcampa tlamalo, nococcampa mjcoa.

722 262 And all the common folk suffered torments of famine. Many died of hunger. No more did they drink pure, clean water[4] — only brackish water did they drink. Of it many people died, and many people therefore [suffered from] a bloody flux, of which they died. And all was eaten — lizards and swallows; and maize straw,[5] and salt-grass.[6] And they ate *colorin* wood,[7] and they ate the glue orchid,[8] and the frilled flower;[9] and tanned hides, and buckskin, which they roasted, baked, toasted, or burned, so that they could eat them; and they gnawed sedum,[10] and mud bricks.[11] Never had there been

Auh in jxquich macevalli, cenca tlaihioviaia maianoia, mjec in mapizmjqujli aocmo quja in qualli atl, in ecatl, ça tequjxqujatl in quja ic mjec tlacatl momjqujli, yoã mjec tlacatl ic tlaelli qujtlaz ic mjc: yoan much qualoc in cuetzpalin, in cujcujtzcatl, yoan Eloçacatl, yoan in tequjxquiçacatl: yoan qujquaquaque in tzumpanquavitl, yoan qujquaquaque in tzacuxuchitl, yoan in tlaqujli, yoan in cuetlaxtli yoan in maçaeoatl, qujtletleoatzaia, qujmooxqujaia qujtotopotzaia, qujtotoponjaia injc qujquaia yoã in tetzmetl, yoan in xantetl qujtetexoaia: aoc tle iuhquj inic tlaihioviloc, temamauhti in tzaqualoc, vel tonac

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3. Corresponding Spanish text: *"los españoles unos altos . . . los otros indios unos bajos . . . los caballos unos bajos."*

4. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 550, reads this *yenal.*

5. *Eloçacatl*: leaves, or straw, of maize, which Mexican cattle eat, green or dry; in other words, the plant itself after the maize grains have been harvested (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — In Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, pp. 271-272, it is described as *"hierba . . . or muy verde y tierna parecese como el trigo, y es blanco, cómenlo los conejos y otros animales."* Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 259, describing it as a diuretic and purgative, suggests "maize straw" as a name.

6. *Tequixquiçacatl*: probably pasture on saline lands, of the variety called "grama," creeps over the ground, putting forth small roots (personal communication, Rafael García Granados). — For this, Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 271, has *"hierba muy delgada y rapinosa, que se hace en tierra salitrosa . . . es buena para quemar."* Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 223, citing Simdon (*op. cit.*), calls it *nitre grass* or *couch grass*, possibly *Distichlis spicata* (L.) Greene. *Grama* (*tequixquiçacatl* in Molina, *op. cit.*), Santamaría (*op. cit.*, II, p. 31) identifies as *Panicum repens* L., very abundant in the Americas.

7. *Tzumpanquauitl*. According to Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 275), *"es arbol mediano, tiene ramas acopadas, tiene la copa redonda y da buen parecer, tiene unas flores que se llaman equimixochitl; son muy coloradas y de buen parecer y no tienen olor ninguno; las hojas de este árbol se llaman equimitl"*; p. 348: *"Equimitl. Arbol, flor y fruto del Colorin.* Erythrina corallodendron. *D.C.* Leguminosae." Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 331, that it is *"especie de frijolillo rojo, duro que contiene un alcaloide muy venenoso."*

8. *Tzacuxochitl*. Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 309, calling it a "glue flower," identifies it as *Mutisia campanulata* La Llave and Lex (?). *Epidendrum parvovi* La Llave and Lex (?), *Cattleya mendelianum* Knuth (?) — all orchids. Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 375-376: *Tzacuxochitl o tzaulli floridus: Mutisia campanulata* La Llave y Lex, or *B. coccinea* La Llave y Lex.

9. *Tlaquilli*. In Molina, *op. cit.*, tlaquilli is plaster or stucco. *Tlaquilin*, however, is given by Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 226, as "frilled flower" — probably *Mirabilis jalapa* L., known as marvel-of-Peru. It is medicinal. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 186, adds these common names: *San Diego de la noche, arrebolera*, and *trompetilla.*

10. *Texoxouh*. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 249, says it is like *xonxonile*: *"hojas muy verdes y corrosas y redondillas, y también mucho leche, y tiene las ramas coloradas. . . . nacen . . . duros, y espesos y largullos . . . lo interior de esta raiz molido"* (medicinal). Emmart identifies it as *Sedum dendroideum* Moçino and Sessé — *commonly, siempreviva* (*op. cit.*, p. 223). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 85, adds *S. guatemalense* H. B. K. and *S. retroreum* Stev.

11. Cf., however, Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 550: *"und Stuck und Leder und Hirschhaut, die braten, backen, rösten, brennen, essen es so, und Tonerdepfuhl und Lehmziegel und essen Texoxal."* Of *texoxal* or *texoxil*, Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 289) says it is a hot country plant used for coloring. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 143 (*texoxic*), says it is *"nombre vulgar de varias plantas suculentas, como el zapotecillo o nigua* (Cocoseagle *vulgaris*), *el tempranito* (*Mamisia harrigata*, y otras."

726 **Thirty-sixth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards for the first time came to and entered the market place here in Tlatilulco.**

And at one time it came to pass that four horse-[men] came to enter the market place. And when they had proceeded to come in, they then traveled in a circle; they followed about the outer edge of the market place and went lancing the chieftains. Many were the dead. They had penetrated the market place at this time — the first time that they had come to look at the market place. Then they went; they fled.

And the chieftains dared to come up to and give them chase. And at the time they had come, entering the market place for the first time, [it was] unexpected; they had given no warning.

And also this was the time that they burned the temple.[1] They laid fire to it. And when they had set it afire, then it flared up. Very high rose the blaze, the tongues of flame. It was as if the fire roared and kept flaring up. And when [the Tlatilulcans] saw that the temple was now burning, then there was weeping; there were tearful greetings. For it was thought that there would be plundering.[2]

And after there had been battle for a long time in the market place, the war spread to the outskirts. Little by little, they abandoned the wall,[3] there at Tenexnamacoyan. And there at Copalnamacoyan,[4] and at Atecocolecan[5] and at Xochicalco,[6] [the Mexicans][7] entered among the houses. The chieftains took positions on the wall. And all the houses of those of Quauhquecholla, which stood around the market place, all became a barrier. Many [of the Mexicans] took their places upon the roof terraces,

Injc cempoalli on cxxtolli ocs capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles iancujcan calaqujco tianqujco in mjcan tlatilulco.

Auh ceppa mochiuh nauhteme in cavallos in calaqujco tianqujco. Auh in ocalaqujco, nec tlanaoatl qujtoca, tianqujztentli qujtoca in tiiacavan qujnxixiltivi, mjeq'ntin in mjcque concujtlaxeloco in tianqujztli: iquac iancujcan qujttaco in tianqujztli: njman ic iaque, ic moteputztique.

Auh in tiacaoan intech motlapaloque qujntocaq̃: auh in jquac calaqujco iancujcan tianqujzco amo tenemachpan, amo qujteimachitique:

auh yoan njmā iquac qujtlatique in teucalli, contlemjnque: auh in ocontlemjnque nec cuetlan, cenca veca ecac in tlel, in tlenenepilli, iuhqujn ihicoioca tletl yoan cuecuetlanj. Auh in oqujttaque in ie tlatla in teucalli: njman ie ic nechoqujlilo, nechoqujztlapalolli: iuh nemachoc in ca ie ontenamoieloz.

Auh vecauhtica in necalioac in tianqujzco, vel tetemman in iauiotl, aiaxcā in quicauhque in tenamjtl, in vncan in tenexnamacoiā. Auh in vncan copalnamacoian, yoan atecocolecan, yoā in vncan xuchicalco in caltzalan, in calacoaia, vel ipā mantinenca in tiacavan in tenamjtl. Auh in jxqujch quauhquechoĥteca calli in tianqujztli qujiavalotoc moch tenamjtl mochiuh mjequjntin tlapanco onoca in vallamotla, qujoallaça in tetl, in mjtl, oallatepachoa, vallamjna, yoan moch mocujtlacoionj in quauhquechol-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"el mesmo dia pusieron fuego al cu mayor que era de Vitzilobuchtli."*
2. *Ibid.*: *"temorõ mal aguero de ser quemar el cu."*
3. *Ibid.*: *"derrocaron los españoles vnos pedaços a ellaruadas con el artilleria."*
4. Probably near Yacacolco, Tlilhuacan, and Atencopan, in Tlatilolco, on the Amanac road or *tlatilacalli*; now Calle de Gonzáles Bocanegra. — Cano, *op. cit.* Tenexnamacoyan can be presumed to have been nearby.
5. Sta. Cruz Atecocolecan, now *"a la esquina noroeste de los patios de los Ferrocarriles."* — R. H. Barlow: "Las ocho ermitas de Santiago Tlatelolco," *Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos*, IX (1947), p. 69.
6. In a *barrio* of Tlatelolco, bounded now, N., by an extension of Calle de la Constancia; E., approximately la Paricalidad; S., Matamoros; and W., extension of Sta. María la Redonda. — Cano, *op. cit.*
7. From here on, Tlatiloloa is the scene of battle. Doubtless warriors of Tenochtitlan and Tlatiluloo fought together. The term "Mexicans," from this point forward, in brackets, implies Indians of both these cities.

●726 in order to throw rocks. They cast down stones and darts; they cast rocks and shot arrows. And all the back walls of the houses of the people of Quauhquechollan[8] were pierced with openings. They made small openings. And when again the horse[men] pursued them, then they would try to cling to their legs and cut off their advance. [Then] the chieftains quickly entered [the openings].

teca calli, achitoton qujcoionjque. Auh in jquac ie no valtetoca in cavallome, in ie no qujnzopiloznequj, in ie qujniacatzacujliznequj: vmpa cacalactivetzi in tiacavan.

And at one time it came to pass that the Spaniards proceeded to enter Acatl yiacapan.[9] Then there was plundering, and poor, common folk were spirited away. And when the chieftains noted it, then they fell upon the [enemy] chieftains. There came to stand a shorn one, named Axoquentzin. He pursued his foes. He forced them to let [the common folk] go; he made them turn about. And this chieftain died there. They shot him with an iron bolt, there, in the breast. When they shot him, the arrow pierced his heart. He lay as if stretching after a sleep.[10] So had he died. And then our foes withdrew to establish themselves.

Auh ceppa muchiuh in Españoles: acatl yiacapan in valcalacq̃ nec tenamoielo, nec teçaçaco in macecaltzitzinti. Auh in oqujttaque in tiiacavan: nec qujvallaça in tiiacavan, vncan icativitz quachic: itoca Axoquentzin qujntocac in jiaovan, qujntetlaçalti, qujnmalacacho: auh inin tiacauh vncā momjqujli, vncan qujtepuzmjviq̃ yielpan, in qujtlaxilique, yiollopan in qujtlaxilique tepuzmjtl, iuhqujn necochaano inic ommomjqujli: auh njmā ic mocototztlalique in toiaovan.

And there at Yacacolco,[11] similarly was there battle. The Spaniards[12] who shot iron bolts came in order to aid and join the Four Lords,[13] who had gone to close off the road. And the chieftains then crouched, in order to cut into their rear as the sun already hung [low]. And at this point, when they were already coming, some of our foes climbed upon the roof terrace. And, crying out, they said: "Ho, O Tlaxcallans! Hasten here! Here are our foes!" Then they cast down darts upon those who were spread out on the ground. Then they broke through.[14]

Auh in vmpa in iacacolco: çan no ivi in tlaiecolo, in Espanoles in tlatepuzmjvia tecpantivitze, qujnpalevitivitze, qujntlamatilitivitze in nauhtecutli, qujtzacutivitze in vtli. Auh in tiacavan nec nepacholo, injc qujncujtlaxeloque, ie ommopiloa in tonatiuh. Auh in ie iuhquj in ie vitze: cequjntin tlapanco tlecoque in toiaovan: auh in otzatzic, qujto. huj tlaxcaltecae, xioalnenemjcan, njcan cate in amoiaovan: nec qujvallaça in mjtl, in impan in mopachotoca, nec xitinque:

Slowly [the Spaniards] came to reach Yacacolco, where the battle had spread to the outskirts. They had come only to skirmish; they could not break the Tlatilulcans, who were on the other side of the water, shooting arrows and casting rocks at them. No overpass, no bridge did [the Spaniards] take.

yiolic onacico in iacaculco vncā motetemmā in iauiotl: çan vncā ommotzotzonaco avel qujnpetlaque in Tlatilulca, in amac onoque qujnvalmjna, qujnvaltepachoa aoc tle in panoanj, aoc tle acuepanavaztli, ocaanque.

8. Sans. -va at Xochicalco (note 6); probably the market was : ere. — Cano. op. cit.

9. Bustamante, op. cit., p. 191: "Otro dia los españoles volvieron a hacer entrada á tiempo por la parte del patio donde estaba el Cú grande de Vitzilopochtli, por el patio del mismo que se llama Acatlyacapa."

10. If read never hamo, the passage would be translated: "It was as if [the arrow] extended on both sides, so that he perished."

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "se revolvieron los españoles que pelearon de la parte de una seja." In Bustamante, op. cit., p. 195, the fighting is said to have taken place at Tacuba, "que es á donde está agora la iglesia de Santa Ana."

12. Españoles: the tilde is omitted in the MS.

13. See Chapter 14.

14. Bustamante, op. cit., p. 195: "y dando todos juntos los españoles y tlaxcaltecas, algunos tlaxcaltecas y españoles subieron sobre las azoteas de las tiendas que estaban en redador del tianguez. Estos que subieron sobre las azoteas descubrieron la celada, y dieron voces á los que iban por bajo y dijeron. . . . ¡Mirad, tlaxcaltecas, que vuestros enemigos estan aquí en celada! Y luego convirtieron a ferchar á los que estaban en la celada, revolvieron y desbaratáronse, y los de la celada como oyeron que ya los habian sido, convirtieron á huir."

Thirty-seventh Chapter. Here is told how the Mexicans laboriously uncovered by night the waterways which the Spaniards had filled in by day.

And our foes went filling in the canals. And when the enemies had gone, once more [the Mexicans] took up the rocks with which the foes had filled them in. When dawn broke, once again it was even as it had been the day before. Often they so did, where [the Spaniards] had filled in the canals — immediately taking up the stones, the wood, etc. — so that by a little the war was lengthened, and gradually [the Spaniards] broke through [the Mexicans]. For these canals were looked upon as great walls.

And [as for] the Spaniards and all the Tlaxcallans, their common charge was the road, the highway to Yacacolco, and to Tlilhuacan and Atezcapan.[1] And Yacacolco, Cuepopan,[2] Apauazcan,[3] and Atliceuhyan, with which went Ayacac[4] and Totecco, were the charge of those of Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, Mizquic, Colhuacan, and Itztapalapan. It became their common task to give battle in boats.

And the boatmen and archers of Atliceuhyan and Ayacac girded themselves to come to grips with them. They lost no time. In truth, they were evenly matched. [It was] as if it rained barbed spears; like serpents, arrows streamed and poured. When they hurled them with spear throwers, it was as if a deep yellow mass spread over the foes.

And a number of chieftains — the Tezcacoacatl Xiuhcozcatzin, the Tepanecatl Quaquatzin,[5] Uitzitzin, and Itzcuintzin, people of Yacacolco, whose houses were situated there, neither tarried, nor abandoned their beloved women and children. With difficulty they went to bring them safely to a house by another canal which was in Amaxac.

Injc cemposalli on caxtolli omume capitulo: 726
vncan mjtoa in q̃nin Mexica in cohuitiaia in qujtlatlaposaia in atl in ioaltica, in vncan catzupaia Espaſioles in tlaca.

Auh in toiaovan, catzuptivitze in acalutli. Auh in onoiaque in iavme ie no ceppa qujqujxtia in tetl injc otlaatzupca iaume: in otlatvic ie no ceppa iuhcan, in juhcan catca ialhoa: muchipa iuh qujchiuhque in vncā catzupaia in acalotli, in çan njmā qujvalquixtiaia in tetl in quavitl. &c. ic achi vecaoac in iauiotl, aiaxcan in qujnvalpetlaque: auh in acalotli in, iuhq'n vei tenamjtl ipan momatia. 726 487

Auh in Espaſioles yoan in jxqujch tlaxcaltecatl incentequjuh in vtli, in vei vtli iacacolco, yoan in tlilhoacan in atezcapan. Auh in iacaculco, in cuepopan, in apaoazcan, yoan atliceuhian injc iaticac aiaeac, in totecco intequjuh muchiuh in Xuchmjlcatl, in cujtlaoacatl, in mjzqujcatl, in culhoacatl in Jztapalapanecatl, incẽtequjuh muchiuh in acaltica in tlaiecoaia.

Auh in atliceuhca, yoan aiacacalque in acaleque, in tlamjnanj, vel muchicaoa injc qujnnamjquj, amo moquequetza, vel moneneuhcavia, iuhquin tzetzelivi in tlatzontectli, iubqujn coatl motlamjna mopipiaça in mjtl: in jquac atlatica qujtlaça iuhq'ujn cozpul ommoteca in impan iaume: 726 [411]

auh in cequjntin tiacaoan in Xiuhcozcatzin quaquatzi, Tezcacoacatl, Tecpanecatl, Vitzitzin, Itzcujntzin: in iacaculca vel ipan mantivia in calli: amo moquequetzaia, amo qujxiccavaia in Cioatzintli, in piltzintli, aiaxcan in qujmõcaltechpachoto in oc ce acalotli itech in amaxac icac.

1. *A barrio fronting that of* Tenantitlan *in* Tenochtitlan: *an area now bounded N. by Calle de Monterrey; E., Comonfort; S., Orizaba; and W., Sta. María la Redonda and the water's edge.* — Cline, *op. cit.* R. H. Barlow ("Las ocho orillas," p. 63) locates it *"entre las calles de Jaime Nunó y de González Bocanegra."*

2. Cuepopan *or* Tlaquechiuhcan, *an area bounded now, N., by Calle de Mascarones; E., Gabriel Leyva; S., Pedro Moreno (once a canal); and Landa.* — Cline, *op. cit.*

3. *To the east of the Plaza de Tlatelolco.* — *Ibid.*

4. *Atliceuhyan and Ayacac were probably in the barrio of Tolpochcalchitlan.* — *Ibid.*

5. Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 555, *groups the names and titles as given here.*

●726 And once it befell that the Spaniards came forth there at Totecco. And when they had reached where the young men's house stood, a place called Ayacac, then they set fire to it.

And another of the Spaniards' boats put in there at Atliceuhyan, and many of the boats of those of Xochimilco entered with it. And the chieftain Temilotzin, the commanding general, placed himself upon a small pyramid and stood looking toward the Spaniards. And the chieftain Coyoueuetzin put on the device of an eagleocelot [warrior]—half eagle and half ocelot. In a boat he came from Tolmayecan to fall upon [the Spaniards]. And many war boats[6] came following him. He said: "O chieftains, onward! Let us repulse them!" Thereupon they struck against the ship. And when the Spaniards had seen this, they then turned back, and [the Mexicans] went after them. Then [Coyoueuetzin and the Mexicans] made straight for Atliceuhyan. And the Spaniards' boats then withdrew from the others and went to take position at Amanalco. And many of those of Xochimilco died of the arrows. And after this, when [the Mexicans] had pursued them, once again [the Spaniards] held a position, and then drove the chieftains back. Coyoueuetzin hid himself behind a small pyramid. Then he succeeded in turning them back and forced them there where stood the young men's house at Atliceuhyan. Once more [the Spaniards] pursued Coyoueuetzin and came making him jump into the water. And once again Itzpapalotzin, a young Otomí [warrior], threw them back. He had also assumed a device. Then he took after them; like a ball of mud he rolled them together. In truth, he went to battle with them in a boat.[7] Then they departed. Thus were they undone.

And those of Cuitlauac thought that their ruler Mayeuatzin had indeed died—that he had perished with the others. They were exceeding wroth; they said: "You have slain our ruler. Bring him forth! Why have you slain our ruler?" And Mayeuatzin, when he had learned that his vassals were angry, that they were angry in his behalf, then said to Coyoueuetzin:[8] "O my elder brother, set up one of our elders who can shout loudly—of loud speech and

Auh ceppa muchiuh in vmpa totecco, vmpa oalquizque in Españoles: auh in onacico in vncan telpuchcalli icac: itocaiocan aiacac: njman contlemjnque.

Auh in oc centetl in jmacal in Españoles, valcalac in vncan atliceuhian, yoā mjec in jmacal in Xuchimjlca in quivalhujcaticalac. Auh in tiiacauh in Temjlotzin, tlacateccatl: momuzco in oquetzticac, quimonjtzticac in Españoles: auh in tiiacauh Coiovevetzin: in onaquj tlaviztli quauhtlocelutl: cectlapal quauhtli cectlapal ocelutl acaltica in valla tolmaiecampa in quivallaz: yoan mjec in acalchimalli, in quitlamatilitivitze: quivalitotia. Tiacavəne ma ie cuel ichoatl ticcentlaça: njmā ie ic macalhujtequj. Auh in oquittaque in Españoles: njman ic motepuztique, quintocaque: nec vallamelaoa in atliceuhiā. Auh in jmacal Españoles: nec quitzinquixtia, contecato amanalco. Auh in Xuchimjlca, mjequintin injc mjcque mjtl: auh in ie iuhquj in oq'ntocaque, oc ceppa valmomāque, nec quinvaltoca in tiiacavan: in Coiovevetzin quimotocti in mumuztli: njmā ic quicuep vel quimaxitito in vmpa icac telpuchcalli in atliceuhian: ie no ceppa quivaltocaque in coiovevetzin atlan conchololtico: ie no cuele contlaz in telpuchotomjtl, Itzpapalotzin in no onaquj tlaviztli, nec q'ntoca, iuhquin çoquitl quimololoa, vel quintepeoato aca acalco: njman ic iaque, ic popolivito.

Auh in cuitlaoaca in momatque ca omjc, ca otehoan mjc, in intlatocauh in Maiehoatzin, cenca qualanj: quitoaia. Ca oanquimjctique in totlatocauh Xiqualnextican, tleica in oanquimjctique totlatocauh. Auh in Maiehoatzin in oquima in ca qualanj, in jmaceoalhoan: injc quitlaqualanjlia: njmā quilhuj in Coiovevetzin. Nachcauhtzine, tla ce xiqualquetza in tachcavan in vel tzatzi, in tlatolchicaoac, in tozcachicaoac: njman ic quivalnotzque ce tequioa,

6. See Pl. 116, 117, 121.

7. *Auo anoiev*: auo is probably a copyist's error. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 536, reads the phrase *quimopeua acalco*.

8. The MS is apparently corrected here to read as reproduced: *quilhuj in coiovevetzin*.

strong voice." Then they spoke to a seasoned warrior named Tlamayocatl, and then Mayeuatzin commanded and said to him: "Go forth and tell those of Coitlauac: 'O men of Coitlauac! Your ruler Mayeuatzin hath sent me! Behold him! There he standeth upon the small pyramid!'" And when those of Coitlauac had heard him, they answered him: "Nay, ye have slain him!" Then he said unto them: "Nay, he is not dead! Look well upon him! There he now standeth!" And [Mayeuatzin] spoke forth: "I have not died. Let nothing injure my lip rod, my green stone [jewels], my devices!" And when he ended his speech, then a cry arose [among the Indians who were with Spaniards], whereupon there was fighting. Then they pursued [the Mexicans]. But in the market place, there at Copalnamacoyan, the battle, gradually abating, lasted long.

And once our foes of Tliliuhquitepec and Atetemollan[a] together conferred and took note of a narrow road which led between house clusters. It was the path of a nobleman named Tlacatzin. And when our foes had already entered, then the chieftains drove them forth. And a man, a chieftain and a seasoned warrior named Tlapanecatl, whose home was at Atezcapan, then engaged them. Our foes then quickly seized him. And the [Mexican] chieftains then rushed and went shooting arrows at our foes. Then they made [the enemy] loose the captured chieftain. But our foes then smote him in the calf of the leg, there where the leg is bled. Then [the enemy] departed; the fighting ceased.

itoca: Tlamaiocatl: nec quinaoatia in Maichoatzin: 726
quilhuja. Tla xoniauh, tla xiquimonjlhuj in cujtlaoaca: Cujtlavacac, onechoaliva in amotlatocauh in Maichoatzin, xoconjttacan nechca moquetzticac mumuzco. Auh in oquicacque cujtlaoaca, quivalitoque. Ca amo, ca oanquimictique: nec quimonjlhuja. Ca amo mjquj, vel, xocottacan ie in nechca icac: yoan quivalitoa, ca amo njmjquj, ma itla nechitlacalhujti, in notençac, in nochalchiuh, in notlaviz: auh in oconttronquixti in jtlatol, nec tlacaoaca: njman ie ic necalioa, nec quivaltoca. Auh in tianquizco in vmpa [293]
copalnamacoian, aiaxcan in mocauh, vncā vecaoac in iauiotl.

Auh ceppa teoentlatalhuique in toiaovan in Tlil- [+91]
iuhquitepeca, atetemoleque: ie quimottilique in vpi-
tzactli in calla quizticac, yiovi catca ce pilli: itoca, Tlacatzin. Auh in ie calaquj in toiaovan: nec quintoca in tiiacaoan. Auh ce tlacatl tiacauh, tequioa, itoca Tlapanecatl, atezcapā ichan catca: nec quinoalnamjquj, njmā ic qujcujtivetzque in toiaovan: auh in tiiacavan, njmā ipan ommotepeuhque, quinmjntivi in toiaovan: njmā ic contetlaçaltito in cacica tiiacauh. Auh in toiaovan nec quivalmetzviteque: vncā in jnezcoaian: njman ic iaque, ōmocacauhque in mjcali.

a. Corresponding Spanish text: "se espesó los enemjos de dentro."

[p. 108 is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

726 Thirty-eighth Chapter, in which is told how the Spaniards set up a catapult with which they would by trickery slay the Tlatilulcans.

Inic cempoalli on caxtolli omei capitulo: vncā mjtca in quenjn españoles qujtlalique quauhtematlatl, inic qujnpoioniztzquja in tlatilulca.

And then the Spaniards set up a catapult upon a small pyramid, in order to hurl rocks at the common folk. And when they had readied it, when they were about to fire it, much did they come circling it; much did they point with their fingers. They pointed to the common folk; they motioned there where they had assembled at Amaxac.[1] All the common folk noted with concern the Spaniards pointing with their arms, as they were about to hurl and cast it, as if using a sling on them. Then [the Spaniards] wound and twisted [the ropes]. Then the wooden beam of the catapult rose upright. But the stone would not go there upon the common folk; it only went to fall beyond the back of the market place at Xomolco.

And so, there, [the Spaniards] quarreled among themselves; it appeared as if the Spaniards jabbed [one another's] faces with their fingers. Much did they chatter. And the catapult kept teetering and swaying, and little by little stilled itself. Then indeed it could be seen that the sling was on top; very thick was the rope. Because [it was provided with] a rope, [the Mexicans] named it "the wooden sling."

And once more the Spaniards hurled [their strength] against [the Mexicans]. And all the Tlaxcallans thereupon formed themselves in rows at Yacacolco, and Tecpancaltitlan,[2] and Copalnamacoyan. Then, there at Atecocolecan, they headed all those who were besieging us.[3] Very slowly they proceeded, taking position. And the chieftains went taking their places.[4] They gathered courage, and indeed stood up as men [of war]. None swooned nor behaved like women. They said: "Come, O chieftains! Who are these little barbarians — little men of low condi-

Auh njman in iehoan Españoles, qujtlalique in quauhtematlatl in mumuztiepac, inic qujntepechozq̄ in macevaltin. Auh in oqujcencaubque, in ie qujtlaçazque, cenca cololhujtinemj, cēca ommapiloa, qujnmapilhuja in macevalti, ommapiloa in vmpa omocenquixtiq̄ in amaxac, in ie ixquich macevalli, cenca qujmōmottitia, ommaçoa in Españoles, inic impan contlaçazque conmaiavizque, in jubquj qujntematlavizque: nec qujmalacachoa nec qujtevilacachoa: njmā ic meoatiquetz in quauhtemalacatl in jquauhio. Auh in tetl amo vel vmpa ia in jpā macevalli, çan ie icampa iteputzco in vetzito tlanqujztli xumolco.

Auh ic vncā mjxnamjcque in juh nexque Españoles iuhqujn mjxmapilxixili, cenca chachalaca. Auh in quauhtematlatl mocuecuepa avic iaiauh, çan jvian motlamelauhcaquetztia: njman ic vel nez in jiacac catca in tematlatl cenca tomaoac in mecatl, inic mecaio: njman ic qujtocaiotique quauhtematlatl:

auh ie no ceppa qujcentlaxque in Españoles: yoā in jxquich tlaxcaltecatl, njmā ie ic motecpana in iacaculco, yoan tecpancaltitlan yoan copalnamacoia: njmā ie vmpa atecocolecan qujniacana in jxquich techiaoaloteoc, cencan ivian in onotiuj. Auh in tiiacaoan valmomātivi, vel mochichicaoa, vel moqujchquetza, aiac tlacuecuetlaxoa, aiac tlaciootlamachtia: qujtoa. Xioalnenemjcan tiiacavane, aqujque in tenjtotonti, tlalhujcatotonti. Auh in tiiacavan avic vivi, ixtlapalhujvi, aocac tlamelauhca icac, motlamelauhcaquetza

1. In the *barrio* of Tezcatzóncatl, "*cave in Cenzontzin*," in the version of Bustamante, *op. cit.*, p. 289. Cano, *op. cit.*, identifies it as a *tezcatzóncalli* in the *barrio* of Atezcatzóncan, an area bounded now, N., by Calle del Canal del Norte; E., Ave. del Trabajo; S., *barrio* of Maxtmalinalco and a broken line from intersection of Tolsaca and Manzanares to approximately the intersection of Peñón and Jesús Carranza; and W., Jesús Carranza.

2. A *barrio* occupying an area bounded now, N., by Calle de la Independencia; E., a line approximately along Marroquí, prolonged to Plaza de S. Juan; S., Pugibet; and W., Luis Moya. — *Ibid.* The context would suggest, however, another place of the same name in Tlatilolco.

3. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 559, translates these: "*In Atecocolecan liegt ganz ruhig der Führer über die gesamten (Streitkräfte), die uns umringen (einschliessen).*"

4. The context does not indicate whether Tlaxcallan or Mexican chieftains are meant; it may be speculated that the latter are referred to. See a parallel passage, *supra*., Chap. 34.

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● 726 tion?"[5] And the chieftains kept going from one side to the other, back and forth. None stood upright nor rose straight.

(And often the Spaniards placed themselves among their enemies. They were not to be seen; as the natives were arrayed, so also they bedight themselves. They put on devices and bound on mantles over [their shoulders], in order to disguise themselves. They went hiding themselves among the people and took watchful care. When [the Spaniards] struck someone with an arrow, all crouched; all fell to the ground. There was much watching; there was alertness as to whence came and whither went the iron bolt. Well did the chieftains of Tlatilulco take care and keep good watch.)

(auh mjecpa motlacacuepaia in Españoles, amo monextiaia in juh mochichioa njcan tlaca: no iuh mochichioaia, tlaviztli cõmaqujaia, tilmatli panj qujmolpiliaia, injc mjxpoloaia, çan motetoctiuitiuitz, çan jc qujteimachitia, in oaca qujmjnque, nepacholo, tlahtech vikoa, cenca tlachialo, cenca mjxpepetza in campa ie vallauh, in campa ie valittziuh in tepuzmjtl, vel mjmati, vel motlachielia in tiiacaoan in Tlatilulica:)

And little by little [the Spaniards] penetrated them and laid siege to them. And at Copalnamacoyan, on the road to Amaxac, the [bearers of] shields came close to one another; they met face to face.

Auh cencan yiolic intech xoxotivi, intech caltechpachotivi. Auh in copalnamacoian in jpan vtli amaxac cenca netechpachiuhtiuh in chimalli, moquanamjcctiuh.

And there was a man whose name was Chalchiuhtepeua, who hid himself behind a wall there at Amaxac. And this one was a Mexican from Tlatilulco. And he spied a horse, in order to spear it. And when he had speared the horse, then the Spaniard [riding it] went down back of it. Then his companions quickly came forth to seize him, and then put to flight all the chieftains and lords who were with them. Then they fell in behind them in pursuit. So once again they made them come to a stand at Copalnamacoyan, where stood the wall. Forthwith each rested, and each departed and entered his house.

Auh ce tlacatl itoca catca Chalchiuhtepeoa, qujmotocti tepantli, vncã in amaxac. Auh in iehoatl in ca mexicatl tlatilucatl: auh cenca qujmottilia in cavallo injc qujxiliz: auh in oqujxil cavallo: njman ic valmotzincuh in Español: njman ic caantiquizque in icnjvan, njman ic qujnteputztique, çan much ieoãtin in tiiacavan, yoan in pipiltin, intech ietiquizq̃ nec imjcampa qujnteputztique, ic ie no ceppa qujquetzato in copalnamacoian, in vncan tenamjtl onoca: nec ic onceceuh, viviloac, cacalacoac.

And once it came to pass that all who were about us, though not the Spaniards, came and assembled there at Teteuhtitlan.[6] It was yet early dawn when they took position. Thereupon they leveled over a lagoon; they filled in the body of water named Tlaixcuipan,[7] for they went about crowded together. All manner of rocks they bore; all kinds of wood, pillars, door lintels, adobes, worked corner stones, etc. They moved with much chattering, raising the dust. For this reason had they so done, that they thought and imagined that thus they could rob the common folk who were at the edge of the road, who dwelt on the border of the way which led to Tepeyacac.

Auh ceppa muchiuh in jxquich in techiaoalotoc: amo no iehoan in españoles: cenquizçato in vmpa Teteuhtitlan oc ioan in momanato: njmã ie ic tlaatzupa, catzupa in atezcatl in itoca Tlaixcuipã iuhquin moquequeztinemj ixquich tetl qujtequj, ixquich quavitl, tlaquetzalli, tlaixquatl, xamjtl, tenacaztli, &c. chachalacatinemj teuhtli qujquetztinemj: in jpampa iuh qujchiuhca, ca iuh qujnamjquja, iuh qujmopictiaia, injc qujnnamoiezque in macevalti in otentoque in onoque in jpan vtli tepeiacac iaticac.

5. See Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, pp. 133, 132.

6. Near — or surrounding? — Thévenaz: "probablement au sud-ouest de Tolpetlac[hihuian]." — Cline, op. cit.

7. A pond (estanque) in or near Tenochtitlan. — Ibid.

And when the chieftains had beheld what now [the foe] did and intended, thereupon they deliberated as to what they would do. And when they had decided, thereupon went a boat, very carefully, which they poled rapidly. It came to a stop at the road's edge. No war device showed; it only came covered over. Another came. Just so, cautiously, they poled it forth rapidly. And once more came two boats, so making four. Then arose two eagle and two ocelot [warriors]. The first eagle [warrior] was Topantemoctzin; the second, Tlacotzin. And the first ocelot [warrior] was Temilotzin; the second, Coyoueuetzin. Thereupon broke forth one ocelot and one eagle [warrior], poling their boats furiously—as if the boats flew. They went cautiously to Teteuhtitlan, in order to intercept and cut off the advance [of the foe]. And when they had gone, once again, also, two—another eagle and another ocelot [warrior]—sped forth to hurl themselves into the midst [of the fray]. And when they had already gone, the flutes were blown, and thereupon people were robbed. And some from there approached to cut off the advance of the chieftains.

And when our foes saw this, they would have fled. Many died in the water, sunk and submerged, only piled up one on another, as if no longer conscious, as if stunned, fallen, soaked. Those who in vain tried to flee, only fell between the beams. They were pulled out, it is said, completely smeared with mud, slippery with mud, well soaked and completely drenched. Very many perished; there they died in myriads. And this was the last time that there our foes, the various people [allied to the Spaniards] died in numbers. And when our foes had died, the next day was quite calm.

And thus came the Spaniards here to Amaxac. They went to and reached where the common folk had taken refuge.[8] They had completely surrounded us. The battle spread all around, there at Amaxac and on the road which led to Tepeyacac. Then [the Spaniards] went to and entered the young men's house named Ueican,[9] for there assembled all the young men. Then they climbed up to the roof terrace. And all the common folk thereupon jumped down behind the young men's house, and then all dispersed into the water. And a great sea-

Auh in oquittaque tiiacoan in ie tlein quichioa, 726
quimopictia: njman ie ic quinemjlia in quenjn vel
quichioazque: auh in ovel quinemjlique, njman
ie ic ce vitz in acalli, cencā yiolic, in quitlanelhuj-
tivitze, contecaco vtenco, amo valneztia in tlaviztli,
çan vallepachiuhtia, ie no ce valla, çan ie no ivi in
jiolic quivallanelhuitiaque: auh ie no ceppa valla
vme in acalli ic onnauhtetix. Nimā ic valmevatiquetz
vntetl quauhtli, ontetl ocelutl: injc ce quauhtli, ie-
hoatl in Topātemoctzin: injc vme, iehoatl in Tlacu-
tzin. Auh injc ce ocelutl iehoatl in Temjlotzin: injc
vme, iehoatl in Coiouevetzin: njmā ie ic oneoa: ce
ocelutl, ce quauhtli, quintequitlanelhuja, iuhquin
patlanj acalli, vmpa tlamattiuh in teteuhtitlan in
q'niacacotonazque, in quinviltequizque. Auh in
jquac oiaque ie no ceppa no contlazque in omentin
no ce quauhtli, auh no ce ocelutl quintlacomotlaz-
que: auh in jquac ie vi nec tlapittzalo, njman ie
ic tenamoielo: auh ceq'ntin njpa quinjiacatzacujlico
in tiiacoan.

Auh in oquittaque in toiaovan motlalozquja mjec
in atlan mjc, in polaco in illaoque, ça netech ommo-
tilinjaia, iuhquin aocmo quimati, ça iuhquin çoço-
tlaoa ça iuhquin chachapantivetzi, in oc nen motla-
loznequj ça quauhcamac activetzi, tevivilano, omach
moçoqujneloque, omach moçoquipetzcoque, vel cha-
chaquanque, vel popolacque, vel mjec in ixpoliuh,
oncan vel tonacamjcoac: auh ça yioppa in vncā
ontoonacamjcoque in toiaovan in nepapan tlaca: auh
in jquac ommjquico in toiaovan, in jmuztlaioc, ça
cactimanca:

auh ic vallaque in Españoles in vncan amaxac, vel
vmpa acito, in vmpa tlantoque in macevaltin, vel
techiacaloque, vel motetemmā in iauiotl, in vel vncā
amaxac yoan ipan vtli in tepeiacac iaticac: njmā
ic calaquito in telpuchcali: moteneoa veican: iehica
ca vncan monechicoaia in jzquich telpochtli: njman [561
ic tlecoque in tlapanco. Auh in jzquich maceoalli: 344]
njman ie ic ommotepeoa in jcampa Telpuchcalli, nec
atla onnetepevalo. Auh ce vei tiiacauh quachic itoca,
Vitzilhoatzin tlapanco moquetz, icpac in telpuch-
calli, oc iuhquin tenamjtl muchiuh, oc ic achi con-

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "donde eran la yglesia de la christiandad."
9. Ibid.: "Juntamente llegaron a donde estaua el cuydado de los mancebos."

726 wned warrior, a shorn one, named Uitzilustein, placed himself above, on the roof terrace of the young men's house. Like a wall he now became.[10] Meanwhile, the common folk followed him a little. But the Spaniards then fell upon them and bore down on them, and thereupon beat, hacked, and pierced him. Then once more the chieftains set upon [the Spaniards], and they then quickly loosed the chieftain [Uitzilustein]. Then they went to lay hands on him, but he did not, nevertheless, die. Then they went, and all was quiet.

And [the temple with] images of the devils [the Spaniards] then set fire to. They burned it.[11]

And the chieftains to no purpose came to hold their position. Yet [the Spaniards] shot no arrows at the women, but only at those who came out as men [of war]. And when all ceased, there was only a little sun.

And on the fourth day likewise it came to pass that our foes marched forth together. Wheresoever there were common folk, there the Spaniards moved cautiously. Very softly they kept going. And the chieftain and commanding general Temilotzin in vain opposed them. He took refuge behind a wall. [#11] As an eagle [warrior] he stepped forth; he had his iron sword with him, with which he would cut them down. But when he saw that nowhere could he do anything, then he cast himself into, and made his way in, the water. There were great war cries. Then once again the battle engulfed them. Only there did they reach. In truth, all day did the battle last.

And when it had dawned, when already it was the fifth day, once again our [Indian] foes and the Spaniards made an assault. And all who surrounded us, in truth, marched together. They were around us, hemming us in. Nowhere could any go nor proceed. All were indeed compressed. All were verily crushed and trampled. And when they had come close among us, a woman poured water upon them; she drenched their faces; she dashed water into the faces of our foes.[12]

[693] And the ruler Quauhtemoc, and the chieftains Coyoueuetzin, Temilotzin, Topantemoctzin, Auelitoctzin the chief justice, Tlacotzin, and Petlauhtzin

tocac in macevalli. Auh in Españoles: njmã ic imp[illegible] ommotepeuhque, impan ommotquiquc: njman ic ic qujvivitequj, qujtlatlapana, qujtzeltilia: njman ic ie no ceppa qujvallazque in tiiacaoan: auh njman ic qujcauhtiquizque in tiiacauh. njnuan ic conanato, amo tel vel mjc, njmã ic iaque, cactimoman.

Auh in diablome imjxiptlavan: vncan cnotlecavique, contlatlatique.

Auh in tiiacavan, oc nen valmomantivi tel amo ma quinmjna in cioa: çan ichoantin in oqujchicativitze: auh in necacaoaloc ça achiton tonatiuh.

Auh injc navilhujtl çan ie no ivi in mochiuh cemolinque in toiaovan: in vmpa onoc macevalli vmpa tlamattivi in Españoles, cencan ivian in iativi. Auh in tiiacauh tlacateccatl in temjlotzin, oc nen qujnmopachiviaia, tepantli qujmotocti Quauhtli ipan qujztícac, itepuzmaquauh ieticac, injc qujncotonazquja: auh in oquittac in aoccampa veli, njmã ic atlan valmomaisuh, axotlatiuh, cenca tlacavaca: vncan ie no ceppa moertemmã in isuiotl, çan vncan aciio: vel cemjlhujtl in manca isuiotl.

Auh in otlatvic, in ie ic macujlilhujtl: ie no ceppa vel qujcẽtlaz in toiaouh in Españoles: yoan in jxquich in techiaoloioc, vel cemolin, vel techiavaloque, techololhujque, aocac campa vel huja vel nexnococolo, vel nepapatzolo, vel mjequjntin patzmjcque, nequequeçaloc. Auh in cenca ie in techonaci, oc civatl qujvallatequja, qujmjxatequja, qujmjxapapatza in toiaovan.

Auh in tlatoanj in Quauhtemoctzin yoan in tiiacavan in Coioevetzi in Temjiotzin, Topantemoctzin, Auelitoctzin. Mixcotlailotlactzin. Tlacutzin, Pe-

10. *Ibid.*: "se asimo que se llamaua Vitzilusteiz era rrapado soldado que estaua sobre los Aposentos questauan a rrasio [redondo?] a los españoles porque por otra parte que no pudiesen a dicho estaua al rrequedo."

11. *Ibid.*: "y otro dia los españoles pegaron fuego aquella casa en la qual auia muchos estauan de los yndios." See Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, B — *The Conquerors*, p. 148 (Conclusion).

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "los mugeres tambien pelearon segunda a los contrarios con el agua de los acequias arrojandosela con los rrostros."

then seized upon a great chieftain named Tlapaltecatl opochtzin, whose home was Coatlan. Thereupon they arrayed him, and put on him the quetzal feather owl[13] which had been the device of Auitzotzin. Quauhtemoc said: "This device was the device of my begetter, of my father Auitzotzin.[14] Let him wear it. Let him die in it. May he gain honor before the people. May he become a portent in it. May our foes see and marvel at him."[15] And when they put it on him, he was indeed terrifying. Truly wonderful he appeared. And [Quauhtemoctzin] commanded four to aid him and be at his side. They gave him the darts[16] [and dart thrower] which were the devil's — the throwing spears with flint points.

And when they had done this, it became like a portent for the lords of the Mexicans. The ruler's vicar Tlacotzin said: "O Mexicans! O Tlatilulcans! Hath Mexico been nothing — that on which Mexican rule was founded? It is said to be with the power of Uitzilopochtli, which he hurled at one. It is none other than the fire serpent, the fire drill, with which he walked, casting it at our foes — which you, O Mexicans, have held as his power of the dart. Forthwith you will aim it against our foes. You will cast it not to the earth; you will hurl it with strength at [the foe]. And if one or two will be struck — if one or two of our enemies will be reached, — it is in truth a token for us [that] yet, for a little, we shall look to favor; [that] yet our lord [the god] may desire it." Thereupon went the quetzal-owl [bedight warrior], with quetzal feathers as if parted.

And when our foes saw him, [it was] as if a mountain had burst. In truth, all the Spaniards took fright; much did he terrify them, as if they had seen in him something [inhuman]. Then the quetzal-owl [warrior] climbed up to the roof terrace. And some of our foes, who could see him, stood up. Then they forced him to turn back, and took after

tlauhtzin. Nimā ic conanq̄ ce vei tiacauh, itoca Tlapaltecatl opuchtzin coatlan ichā njman ie ic qujchichioa, conaqujque, in quetzaltecu[l]=tl: itlaviz catca in Aujtzotzin: qujto in Quauhtemoctzin. Jnjn tlaviztli, itlaviz catca in notechiuhcauh in notatzi Aujtzotzin, ma iehoatl conjtquj ma ipan ommjquj ma cōtemaviçolti ma ipan tetlatiti ma qujttacan in toiaovan ma qujmaviçocan. Auh in oconaqujque vel temamauhti, vel maviztic in neci: auh navinti in qujnnavatique in qujvalpalevitiazque, in qujvallamatilitiazque, qujvalmacaque in jmjuh catca tlacateculotl, tlacumjtl, iacatecpaio.

Auh injc iuh qujchiuhque in, iuhqujnma intlapoal muchiuh in tlatoque in Mexica: qujto in Civacoatl tlacutzin. Mexicae tlatlilulcae, atlei injc mexico ocatca, injc ommanca mexicaiutl: in mjtoa in vncan inavatil in vitzilobuchtli in tepā qujtlaça ca çan ie in xiuhcoatl, in mamalhoaztli in otepā qujtlaztinenca in toiaupan in ie anconcuj Mexicae in jnaoatil in mjtl: çan njmā vmpa anqujtlachieltizque in ivicpa toiaovan, amo çan tlalpan anqujmaiavizque cenca intech-in anqujtlaçaxque: auh intla ce, anoço vme momjnaz: auh in ano ce, anoço vme in maçiz toiaouh ca nel totlapoal, oc achitzin tinacazitztiazque, oc quenjn qujmonequjltiz in totecujo: njman ie ic iauh in quetzalteculotl, in quetzalli iuhqujn xexeliuhtiuh.

Auh in oquittaque in toiaovan, iuhqujn tepetl vitomj vel muchintin momauhtique in Españoles, cenca qujnmauhti, iuhqujnma itla ipan qujttaque: njman ic tlapanco tlecoc in quetzalteculotl. Auh in cequjntin toiaovan in ovel qujttaque moquetzque: njman ic qujvalcuepque, qujvaltocaque: ie no ceppa no qujncuep qujntocac in quetzalteculotl, njman

13. Bustamante, op. cit., p. 211: "*un bando (bandera de plumaxe verde y colorado).*"

14. While Book XII was in press Dr. Anderson wrote the following comment from Florence, Italy: "The word is almost illegible in the MS. [continuation of the original (Med.-Palat. 218-220, Laurentian Library, Florence), in connection with researches in Europe made possible by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, suggests that *nonchichioaloni* (my reader or hagiptzer) is meant."

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Estando ya los mexicanos armados de todas partes de las enemigos arrebataron de tomar presentes a aquesto q̄ era su embiado en semejante a el los quedaua ningun lugar de acaecer de aquel gra̅ peligro en que estaua: y hablo el señor de mexico que se llamaua [illegible] y dixo a los principales que con el estaua . . . haganme esperimentar a mi el poderoso acaecer deste peligro I que estamos entre manos de los mesmos enemigos que ay entre nosotros y estauan los arreos y diuisas que traya de mi padre Auitzotzin. luego llamaron a vn mancebo valiente hombre que se llamaua Tlapaltecatl opochtzin que era del barrio de coatlan donde se agora la parroquia de la̅ conuersion en el diuisaron.*"

16. The Aztec text may read *inā inajuh*. *In jnajuh* is probably meant.

726 him. Another time the quetzal-owl [warrior] turned them back and pursued them. Thereupon he took from them the quetzal feathers and the gold [looted by the foe],[17] and then he jumped down from the roof terrace. He did not die, nor did our foes carry him off. Now also, three of our foes had been taken. At last the battle came to an end; with this, stillness spread, and no more was done. Then our foes departed. All was quiet, and nothing more took place. Thus night fell.

ie ic quinamoia in quetzalli, yoan in teucujtlatl: auh njman ic vmpa valhuetz in tlapanco, amo mjc, amo quivicaque in toiaovan: ie no icintin in axivaque in toiauiã ça icoen ontzotzon in iauiotl ic cactimoman, aoc tle muchiuh: njman ic iaque in toiaovan, cactimoman, aoc tle muchiuh injc oniovan.

And upon the morrow, likewise no more happened. None spoke aloud. The common folk only settled back. And the Spaniards did nothing more. They only remained still; they remained looking at the common folk. Nothing more occurred; they remained quiet, in place.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, çan njmã aoc tle muchiuh, aocac navati, ça pachiuhtoc in macevalli. Auh in iehoantin Españoles aoc no tle ay, ça onoque, quimonjxtoque in macevaltin aoc tle mantoc, cencã ça onoq̃.

701 And here are named all the chieftains, the great men who were wise in the ways of war, who disposed [men] for battle, who assumed the burden of war: the general Coyoueuetzin, and the Tzilacatecutli Temilotzin. These were Tlatilulcans. And those of Tenochtitlan [were] the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin and the captain of the armies Motelchiuhtzin. These are they who were the great chieftains of Tlatilulco and Tenochtitlan.

Auh njcan motenevia in jzq'ntin tiiacavan, in vevei oqujchtin, in vel imjxco catca iauiotl, in iautecaia in jpan icaca iauiotl. Tlacuchcalcatl, Coiovevetzin, Tzilacatecutli Temjlotzin: in iehoantin in ca tlatilulca. Auh in tenuchca, iehoantin in. Cioacoatl tlacutzin, vitznaoatl Motelchiuhtzin: oca iehoãtin in, in veveintin tiiacavan catca in tlatilulco, yoan injc tenuchtitlan.

17. This is explained in the Spanish text: "subio este con el despues donde los derribaron tenian quitadas y cosas de sus vestidos."

Thirty-ninth Chapter, in which is told how, when the [Spaniards] had forced them to the wall, there appeared to the Mexicans what showed itself to be [a ball of] jasper[1] which seemed to issue from the heavens and came to view like a large coal of fire.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli onnavi capitulo: vncā mjtoa in quenjn ichoantin Mexica in jquac ovel qujncaltechpachoto in nex in mottac Eztetl: iuhq'nma ilhujcacpa valla. Auh injc valneztia iuhqūiñ vei tlexuchtli.

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And when night had fallen, then it rained and sprinkled at intervals. Late at night the flame became visible; just so was it seen, just so it emerged as if it came from the heavens. Like a whirlwind[2] it went spinning around and revolving; it was as if embers burst out of it — some very large, some very small, some like sparks. Like a coppery wind it arose, crackling, snapping, and exploding loudly. Then it circled the dike and traveled toward Coyonacanco;[3] then it went into the middle of the lake there to be lost.

None shouted; none spoke aloud.

And on the next day, nothing more happened. All remained [quiet], and also our foes [so] remained.

Auh in ovalioac: njman ie ic ꝯujqujiavi, avachq'ujqujiavi, ie tlaquauhioya in nez tletl: in juh mottac, in juh nez, iuhqujn ilhujcacpa valla, iuhqujn ecamalacutl, momamalacachotiuh, motevilacachotiuh, iuhqujn cuecuepocatiuh tlexuchtli, cequj vevei, cequj çan tepitoton, cequj ça iuhqujn tlemoiutl, iuhqujn ecatepuztli, moquetza, cenca icoioca, tetecujca, titicujca, çan qujiavalo in atenamjtl: coionacazzco in valiztzia: njmā ic ia in anepantla, vmpa popolivito,

aiac motenvitec, aiac navat:

auh in jmuztlaioc, aoc no tle muchiuh, ça onoac, ça no onoque in toiaovan.

But the Captain [Cortés] was watching from a roof-top at Amaxac — from the roof-top of [the house of] Axtauatzin — under a canopy. It was a many-colored canopy. He was looking toward the common folk; the Spaniards stood crowded about him and took counsel among themselves.

Auh in capitan tlapīco vallachixtica in amaxac, Axtavatzin itlapanco, cevalcalco, tlatlapalli in cevalcalli, qujmonjtztica in macevaltin, cololhujtoque in Españoles, mononotztoque.

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And [on our side] were Quauhtemoc and the other noblemen[4] — the ruler's vicar[5] Tlacotzin, the lords' judge[6] Petlauhtzin, the captain of the armies[7] Motelchiuhtzin, the constable[8] of Mexico, and the lord priest;[9] and also the rulers of Tlatilulco — the

Auh in Quauhtemoctzin; yoan in oc cequjntin tlatoque. Civacoatl tlacutzin. Tlillancalquj. vizna-oatl. Petlauhtzin. Motelchiuhtzi mexicatl. Achcauhtli, Tecutlamacazcatzin. Niman in ichoantin in tlatilulco tlatoque. Tlacuchcalcatl. Coiovevetzin. tla-

701 565

1. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 305, translates *amatl* (ancestral symbol) as *Mexicans*. See, however, Simeón, *op. cit.*
2. Sahagún, *loc. cit.*, has *ehe Windbal* (?).
3. See Chapter 34, n. 5.
4. We have rearranged the first few of the series as Sahagún does in *op. cit.*, p. 307, for the sake of more logical reading.
5. *Civacoatl.* Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, III, fol. 3; also Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodrigues Franco, 1723), II, p. 352; Chimalpáin, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
6. *Tlillancalqui.* Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, fol. 65. For *tlillancalcatl*, Torquemada, *op. cit.*, p. 178, has *carnicero mayor*.
7. *Tlacochcalcatl.* Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, fol. 67.
8. *Achcauhtli.* Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, III — *The Origin of the Gods*, p. 33.
9. *Tecutlamacazcatzin.* Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 117.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton:

> ... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton.

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.*

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack.

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period:

CLOTHING**

2,010 bundles† of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles‡ of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD*

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE*

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan.

CLOTHING

9 "sauanas"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

* *ENE*, 10: 126. † Corrected from 2,000. ‡ Corrected from 800.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

721 the Mexicans telling them not to annoy or rob those towns, for their Lord Montezuma approved of our all being great friends, and that if they did so he would come against them and attack them. The Mexicans took no notice of that reply or of the threat, but said that we should
726 find them in the field. Juan de Escalante who was a very competent man and prompt in his actions, summoned all our allies from the towns in the Sierra to come with their arms, that is bows, arrows, lances and shields, and he also called together the most active and healthy of his soldiers, (for I have already said that nearly all the settlers who had remained in Villa Rica were invalids and sailors,) and with two cannon and a little powder, three crossbows, two muskets, and forty soldiers and over two thousand Totonac Indians, he went in search of the Mexican garrison, who were already out robbing a town of our allies. They met in the fields at dawn of day, and as the Mexicans doubled in number our Totonac allies, and as the latter were always in terror of them on account of their former wars, at the first attack of the Mexicans with arrows, darts, stones and war cries, they took to their heels and left Juan de Escalante to fight the Mexicans alone, in such a manner that he and his poor soldiers barely reached a town called Almeria, which they set on fire and burned the houses. There he rested a little for he was badly wounded.

In those skirmishes and attacks, the Mexicans carried off alive a soldier named Argüello, a native of Leon, a man with a very large head and black curly beard, and he was very sturdy in appearance and a man of great strength. Juan de Escalante and six of his soldiers were very badly wounded and one horse was killed. They returned to Villa Rica and within three days Escalante and the six soldiers were dead.

000 It was in this way that what we call "the affair at Almeria"

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

sions, but their presence was obligatory, that they might see and learn. Besides, as often as war was proclaimed, a general muster and rehearsal was held at each quarter.[24] We have no detailed report of such exercises, of the evolutions, if any, carried out by the warriors, but an incident of the history of Mexico may furnish us with an approximate picture. When, in 1473, the tribe of Tlatilulco, independent at that time from Mexico, agreed upon attacking the latter, they practised beforehand, and with as much secrecy as possible.[25] Setting up posts of hard wood, they beat against them with their swords and clubs; they sped arrows and threw darts at thick wooden planks, and lastly they went out into the lake and shot at birds flying.[26] This *may* be supposed an illustration of the manner in which the Mexicans practised at arms.

These exercises partaking, frequently at least, of a religious character, they ordinarily took place at the squares surrounding temples, more particularly in the great place of the chief "house of God" ("teo-calli") of Mexico.[27] Immediately preceding a foray or campaign, warriors and youth aggregated there also, not only to practice, but especially to receive their weapons out of the

"other times appointed, the latter caused the young men to practice at arms, that they "might be ready for war. He even set out premiums to those who would distinguish "themselves, and not only was present, but sometimes used the bow and sword, taking "part in the exercises." Also to Torquemada (Lib. X, cap. XIV, p. 256, of 2d volume, but especially cap. XI, p. 252. "En esta fiesta hacian alardes, y escaramuças todos los "Soldados y Hombres de Guerra, donde cada qual pretendia aventajarse al otro; y se "mostraban muy valientes, y esforçados; de donde nacia señalarse muchos, y aventu-"rarse á casos muy peligrosos"), and Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXI, p. 143).

[24] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147, and cap. XC).

[25] It is well known that the Mexicans had formerly divided into two tribes: the Mexicans proper, of Tenuchtitlan (Tenuchcas), and those of Tlatilulco. The latter never denied their common descent. At the time of their conspiracy to overthrow the Tenuchca they are said to have agreed upon: "that Mexicati-Tenuchtitlan should be ob-"literated, and Tlatilulco-Mexico should become head of the world" (Tezozomoc, cap. XLI). It is not devoid of interest to know that, as late as 1473 (the year 7 "calli"), or only 48 years previous to the Spanish conquest, the very existence of the Mexican power became seriously threatened by a small tribe, subsisting as an independent people within musket range of Mexico. This fact, and the negotiations of the Tlatilulca with the other tribes of the valley, at that period, furnish one of the best illustrations of the loose manner in which all the tribes subject to Mexico at the time of Cortés were bound to the Mexicans. After the overthrow of the Tlatilulcans by Axayacatl of Mexico, their pueblo became the fifth "quarter" (calpulli), and under Spanish rule it bore the name of "Santiago."

[26] Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI). Durán (Cap. XXXIII, pp. 259 and 260). According to the latter, they at first practised with the sling, throwing stones against a wooden image; he does not mention the use of the sword or club, only missiles. Otherwise, both authors agree perfectly.

[27] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. II, p. 197, of 1st volume).

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public storehouses connected with the temples of each tribal subdivision.[28]

The name given to these public store-houses was "houses of darts" (tlacochcalco).[29] They were, probably, not limited to the immediate vicinity of the chief temple, but each subdivision of the pueblo had its "house of darts" as well as its central "teocalli."[30] The following description of an aboriginal Mexican "pueblo," furnished by a missionary who arrived in New-Spain as early as

[28] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 121. Immediately preceding the foray against Xoconochco, "each day the youth went to the quarters, to practise at the school of arms, "telpuchcalco . . . . " *Idem*, cap. LXXVIII, p. 134). The *Anonymous Conqueror*, whose relation is contained in vol. I of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Col. de Documentos." both in the original Italian taken from Ramusio ("Relatione di alcune cose della Nuova "Spagna, & Della Gran Citta di Temestitan Messico, fatta per uno Gentil' homo del "Signor Fernando Cortese"), and in the Spanish translation by the distinguished Mexican scholar, says (p. 394, "Dei tempii, é Meschite che havevano"): "Before they left "(for war), they all went to the principal *mosque* ("meschita maggiore"—main teocalli) "and provided themselves with the arms stored over the main entrances" (of the square around the temple). We have few positive indications as to the true situation of the store-houses, beyond that they were probably connected with the "school, houses" ("telpuchcalco"), and therefore with the temples. Torquemada, who gives an elaborate description of the chief temple of Mexico (Lib. VIII, of 2d volume), says (Cap. XI, p. 146): "and at each one of the four entrances to the court of the temple-"there was an extensive (very large) hall, connected with numerous rooms and closets, "high as well as low, which served as houses of arms, where these were kept together "with the ammunition. For, as they regarded the temples as their strongest places, "and their retreats in case of danger, they held there their arms and means of defence." He further mentions, under the uncouth name of "Tlacochcalcoscatlyacac[illegible]n," "an-"other hall . . . . Here they kept a quantity of arrows (or darts, 'saetas') which "were made every year, and there deposited until wanted." See also Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVII). Gomara (Vedia, I. "El templo de Méjico," p. 349). "At each door (of "the four) of the court of the principal temple there was a large hall surrounded by "high and low additions. These were filled with arms, like public and communal "houses, for the temples were the strongholds of each pueblo, and therefore contained "the arms and ammunition." Of course the square of the great "teocalli" of Mexico attracted principal attention.

[29] "Tlacochalco," or "Tlacochcalli," derives from "tlacochtli," dart, and "calli," house.

[30] Every author concedes that there were several "houses of arms" at Mexico. Bernal-Diez says there were two (Cap. XCI, p. 87, of vol. II, Vedia). Gomara ("Casas de armas," Vedia, I, p. 345) says: "Montezuma had some (rather 'several' 'algunas') houses of arms, whose blazon were a bow and two quivers over each door." Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 196) says; "he had, not one, but many houses for the "keeping and storage of arms;" (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 197) he copies almost textually Gomara's statement about the halls over the entrances of the court to the temple of Mexico, and adds also, like Gomara, "porque los templos, aliende de que "servian de casas de Oracion, eran las Fortaleças con que en tiempo de Guerra mas se "defendian, i tenian en ellos la municion, i Almacen." Previously he says (p. 196): "There were many temples in Mexico; according to the parishes, or quarters, of which "there were many." See also Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 188): "porque tenian "muchas casas de varas con sus puntas de pedernal, etc., etc." It shows that the storehouses *were distributed over the pueblo, and not only limited to the main temple.* Cortés, when he burnt Quauhpopoca, emptied for that purpose the arsenals of the main

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round, small, "target," worn by the "brave" on his left arm and made of "canes netted together and interwoven with cotton 'two-"fold,' covered on the outside with gilded boards and with feath-"ers, and so strong that a hard cross-bow shot could alone pene-"trate them . . . ."[54]

With this shield they warded off blows in close combat,[55] and even arrows and darts at full speed. Each warrior probably carried his own shield, although it is sometimes stated that the archers, while shooting, were shielded by others.[56] This, however, would necessarily imply a greater progress of the military art among the Mexicans than we may safely allow.

The remainder of the protective armour of the Mexicans is intimately connected with their *costume*.

The ordinary dress of a Mexican consisted of a sleeveless jacket ("huepil") fastened on the right shoulder, and of the breechcloth ("maxtlatl"). The head, arms, and legs from the knees downwards, were bare. A mantle, short among the common Indians, longer among the chiefs, completed the costume.[57] Sometimes they went to war without any other protection, but in most cases the warrior wore a frock of quilted cotton, about three-quarters of

[54] The "anonymous conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 373). Compare Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 423), and Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).

[55] See the description of a single combat between a Cempoaltecan and Tlaxcaltecan (Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. VI, p. 143, and Torquemada, Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 422).

[56] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII) and the anonymous conqueror both assert, that each warrior had a shield. But Fray G. de Mendieta is still more positive (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "Tras estos llegaban los golpes de espada y rodela, con los cuales iban "arrodelados los de arco y flecha, y alli gastaban su almacen." However, Fray Diego Durán says: (Cap. XIV, p. 121) "y llegados á un lugar que llaman Tecuitlatenco, hicie-"ron alto y esperaron la armada de Mexico que venian por la laguna, que eran mill "canoas, muy bien Aderegadas de gente y paueses con gran numero de fisgas y varas "arrojadiças, flechas y rodelas y de hombres para defensa de los flecheros, los quales "estauan tan diestros en desviar flechas con las rodelas, que era espanto, porque en "viéndola venir, luego la dauan con la rodela que la echauan à través." This seems to indicate that there were special men detailed to protect the archers, and therefore a division into different arms, although there is no other evidence of such a fact. It may have been the case here, since the fight (against Cuitlahuac) was to take place on water chiefly, but nowhere else do we meet a division into kinds of arms, like archers, spearmen, swordsmen, etc., etc. All Mexican warriors were armed as nearly alike as possible. The Anonymous Conqueror, after mentioning the different weapons, says: "y "molti, o la maggior parti di esse portano tutte queste sorti di armi con che combat-tono." ("Relatione, etc.," in Vol. I. of Col. de Doc., p. 374.)

[57] Gomara (Conquista de Méjico. Vedia, Tom. I. p. 440. "Calzan unos zapatos como "alpargates, pannicos por bragas. Visten una manta quadrada, añudada al hombro "derecho como gitanas"). The Anonymous Conqueror (p. 376. "La maniera del ves-"tire de gli huomini"). Tezozomoc (Crónica, Cap. XXXVI, p. 56. "the macehuals "of lower grade, wore short mantles, plain, of cotton or sequen"). The "maxlatl" is described by the Anonymous Conqueror as follows: "a towel, like unto a sheet

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646 The existence of this council as
642 a *supreme* authority, proves the Mexicans to have been, not *subject* to the despotic rule of a monarch, but *organized* after the principles of a *military democracy*. They were a barbarous but *free* and *warlike* community.

721 *Legitimate* causes for war were frequently furnished to the Mexicans. Their traders, or those of allied or subjected tribes, were often exposed to outrage and ill-treatment on the part of and among foreign "pueblos." Such acts were always regarded as justifying open warfare, and the opportunity was speedily improved. But *pretexts*[128] were eagerly sought for also, and the Mexicans therefore never at a loss to find *some* ground for pouncing upon any tribe which excited their cupidity. We have already stated that war was carried on by them for subsistence. It [782] was further required for the purpose of obtaining human victims, their religion demanding human sacrifices at least eighteen times every year.[129] Every important event, like an improvement of the "teo-calli,"[130] and especially the installation of a new war-chief of the highest degree ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"), had to be celebrated by a special butchery of men,—and these victims had to be obtained through *war*.[131] Therefore the well-known custom of the Mexi- [726] cans, on the battlefield, to look more to the *capture* than to the slaying of their foes.[132]

[128] The war which resulted in the conquest of Chalco, the foray against Ahuilizapan (Orizava) and Cempoal, were all brought about by the most wanton provocations on the part of the Mexicans (Tezozomoc, Cap. XIX, p. 30; cap. XXI, p. 33; cap. XXXI, p. 48). (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XL, p. 159.) (Clavigero, Lib. IV, cap. XIII.) Durán positively denies it, saying that the Mexicans never made war unless provoked, but this is too manifestly untrue (Gomara, p. 442).

[129] These were the regular monthly festivals only.

[130] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 287), when the war against Mechoacan was determined upon: "and that the main reason why he wished to measure himself with their strength "was to try to celebrate with them (by the means of prisoners taken from them) the in- "auguration of the stone, that was similar to the sun, and to tinge his temple with the "blood of these nations." Gomara ("De las guerras," p. 442, Vedia, I, "y para, como "ellos dicen, haber esclavos que sacrificar à los dioses y cebar à los soldados").

[131] It was obligatory upon the chieftain to inaugurate his administration with a military exploit, and great importance was placed upon that the head-chief should make prisoners on that occasion with his own hands. Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431). Tezozomoc (Cap. LVII, p. 93; cap. LXI, p. 101; cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). These three passages relate to Tizoczic, to Ahuitzotl, and to the last Montezuma, respectively.) Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, pp. 131, 132, and 133). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LV, p. 172, and cap. LXIX, p. 195).

[132] This was a very fatal custom, as against the Spaniards. Had the Mexicans been intent upon *killing* instead of overpowering their white enemies alive, their resistance would have been more formidable. Thus, for the sake of capturing a single horseman, they recklessly sacrificed numbers of their own, when they thought to be able to surround him, and cut him off from his corps or detachment. The custom was, however, general among the Nahuatlac tribes.

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72 country, had permitted their *coming* unmolested,[137] their *return*, once outside of the council-house, was not placed under any similar safe-guard. Oftentimes that return to Mexico was attended with the most imminent personal danger to the delegates.[138]

The cases, if any, are certainly few in number, where a tribe thus provoked or defied, *voluntarily* submitted to tribute. The Mexicans could be *sure*, almost, of war, *whenever their supreme council had agreed upon it.* Therefore, as soon as the meeting at the official house had concluded, war was proclaimed in the four quarters of the pueblo, and in case of great urgency, a monstrous [203] drum, with a specially dismal sound, called the whole tribe to arms from the top of the chief temple.[139]

72½ Owing to the peculiar organization just discussed, a rapid mobilization of the forces of the whole tribe was very feasible. The minor subdivisions gathered under their "captains," and all together proceeded almost simultaneously to the store-houses of the four great quarters of the tribe, where the stewards dealt out the

[137] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 535): "que aunque estas Gentes eran de su "natural condition mas vengativas, que todas las del Mundo, respetaban a' los Embax-"adores de sus mortales enemigos, como a' Dioses, teniendo por mejor violar qualquier "rito de su Religion, que pecar contra la fé dada á los Embaxadores."

[138] For comparison with Loskiel on the northern Indians (Cap. XI, p. 187) see Tezozomoc (Cap. VIII, p. 15). When the "Atempanecatl Tlacaeleltzin" returned for the second time to Azcaputzalco, this time to challenge the Tecpanecas and defy them to open war, and after he had properly decorated their war-chief Tezozomoctli, the latter gave to him a sword, a shield, and a helmet, saying: "Take here, also, something to "protect your body, and this shield and sword, "maccnahuitl," and see if you may "return home safely." Atempanecatl was attacked by Tecpanecan scouts, pursued as far as upon Mexican soil, and escaped only through his swiftness and personal bravery. This episode is confirmed by Durán (Cap. IX, p. 74), and by Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XII, pp. 482 and 483), although they both say that the Mexican delegate escaped by avoiding the warriors of the Tecpanecas by circuitous paths. Still, it shows that his return was attended with great personal danger. Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII) attributes this action to the first Montezuma. ("Huehue-Montezuma," or "Montezuma Ylhuicamina.")

[534] [139] Bernal-Diez (Cap. XCII, Vedia, II, pp. 90 and 91). On the top of the great temple: "y alli tenian un tambor muy grande endemasia, que cuando le tanian el sonido "del era tan triste y de tal manera, como dicen instrumento de los infiernos, y mas de "dos leguas de alli se oia; y decian que los cueros de aquel tambor eran de sierpes muy "grandes." Besides this drum they used conch-shells in great numbers, thus creating a horrid noise. The Spaniards grew intimately acquainted with these awful signals on the night of the 1st of July, 1520, when the various instruments called out the Mexican warriors to that pursuit which caused the slaughter on the dyke leading to Tlacopan. Every one reading the splendid descriptions of Mr. Prescott, of this bloody retreat ("History of the Conq. of Mexico," Book V, chap. III), will remember: "the "huge drum in the desolate temple of the war-god sent forth those solemn tones which, "heard only in seasons of calamity, vibrated through every corner of the capital" (p. 362, of Vol. II).

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armament.[140] Thus the largest bodies were assembled, furnished with weapons, and organized under their respective leaders of all grades on very short notice, awaiting the signal from the chief commander to sally forth, either by canoes across the lake,[141] or along the causeways, to the mainland. Each warrior carried mostly his own frugal provisions[142] which the women of each household had prepared; "corn-bread, meal-cakes, ground beans, "corn-meal seasoned with pepper;"[143] but special carriers also accompanied the force, loaded with a surplus of food, with robes for tents, reeds for huts and bowers, and with cooking utensils like kettles, pans, baskets; also with mats.[144] Sometimes these

[140] It also happened that an interval of twenty days (a Mexican month) elapsed between the proclamation of war and the final departure. At least, in most cases, a few days were spent in preparations, since the Mexicans had to give time to their outside allies or subjects to prepare, also. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI): "The Mexicans in "the interval prepared the arms in all the quarters,— shields, swords, and made and "finished many rods ("tlatzontectli"), also slings, and pebbles to be thrown with "corda." (Id., Cap. LVII) "Within twenty days they prepared and fitted out all kinds "of arms, first in the five quarters of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan: Moyotlan, Teopan, Ytza-"cualco, Cuepopan, and Tlatilulco, now called Santiago." In many cases, however, an instantaneous mobilization of the whole force became necessary. Mexico, in times of peace, had to be always ready for war. See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[141] Canoes, "acalli" (water-houses, from "atl," water, and "calli," house), were used for the traffic with the main land, but also largely for the carrying of warriors. It is well known what important part they played against the Spaniards during the siege. For the movements of the Mexicans against a hostile tribe, both on land and water, see Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 121), wherein he describes the attack upon Cuitlahuac, both by canoes and on dry land.

[142] Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369): "porque demas de lo que los reyes proueyan de sus "grandes trojes y graneros, cada soldado llevaua á questas su particular comida, "todo lo que podia llevar, atada á la carga el espada y la rodela, etc., etc."

[143] The women *prepared* the food, but it also occurred that the *stewards dispensed* it. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 49): "With this the stewards and calpixques of the tribes "gave to their quarters maize for to make biscuit, tlacactutopochtli, pinole, ground "pepper, chian, beans, and all what pertained to it, providing themselves with every-"thing necessary for certain day stated." The "tlaxcaltotopochtli" (from "tlaxcalli," corn-bread, and "totopochtli," burnt-bread) would be biscuit of maize-meal, and it is therefore called "vizcocho." The pinolli, or pinole, corn-meal mixed with pepper, was an important victual. The food of the Mexicans, in general, outside of the meats (exclusively fowl and some game) and aquatic animals, consisted of maize in various forms, and of pepper, "chilli," as seasoning. Cacao furnished their main beverage, and stores of it were taken along. See, also, Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369: "maiz tostado "y otro molido y hecho harina, frijol molido, pan biscochado, tamales mohosos y cura-"dos al sol, grandes fardos de chile, cacao molido hecho en pellas"). They also used maize to compose a beverage called "yolatl," which possessed particularly vivifying qualities (See note of Sr. Ramirez to p. 290 of Durán), and which they dispensed even on the battlefield (Durán, Cap. XXXVII; Tezozomoc, Cap. LII).

[144] These carriers are called "tamemes," and are generally regarded as having been *slaves*. But they probably were outcasts from the bond of kinship, or the men of newly conquered tribes (like Tlatilulco for a time after its capture), upon whom this *degrading* work (*because woman-like!*) was imposed as a penalty. Slaves were not nu-

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726 carriers were burthened with a surplus of arms, and even with or-
724 naments, designed to reward deeds of high valor on the battlefield itself. This "train" (if we may use the expression) was under the command of stewards, who accompanied the force for that purpose.[145] The Mexicans having no domestic animals besides small
[231] dogs and fowls, it necessarily followed that their supplies and stores taken along by carriers were limited, and that consequently their expeditions could never be of long duration, partaking more of the character of forays or "raids" than of regular campaigns. As long as they moved among friendly tribes they expected these to furnish victuals; further on they relied upon what the enemy's country might possibly afford.

726 But the Mexicans, since their position in the middle of the la-
648 gune had been secured, and after they had once gained a foothold on its shores by overpowering successively some of the tribes scattered along the mainland, not any longer ventured out alone on their marauding expeditions. They required of those whom they conquered to join them in arms at their bidding.[146] What the exact relations were, which existed between the Mexicans and the other tribes of the valley, especially those of Tezcuco and Tlaco-

[567] Slaves were not numerous among the Mexicans, if there were any at all beyond the prisoners of war. The latter they could not use for such a purpose. Some of the young people often accompanied the warriors, carrying their weapons and supplies, that they might see and learn (Tezozom. cc. Cap. LXXI, p. 121). But the numbers of these carriers (100,000) are greatly exaggerated. Among the various objects mentioned by Tezozomoc as carried along by the Mexicans in their campaigns, there are "tents, low huts, reeds for the xacales." "Tent," in Mexican, signifies "Quachcalli," from "Quachtli," mantle, and "calli," house. Huts, "xacalli," of straw, or bowers, they certainly used, and the step is not very great, from the hut to the tent covered with what we call among northern Indians a "blanket." Durán mentions both tents and huts, "tiendas y xacales," frequently (Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 186; cap. XXII, p. 190, etc.). The cooking utensils, like pans and kettles, had to go along, of course. Mats, "petlatl," for couches, and probably, also, for the covering of huts, were equally requisite and even indispensable. Lastly, mantles of "nequen" (Sisal hemp, "Jennequin"). This was the most ordinary
[291] material composing the dress of Mexicans. The "huepil" of the ordinary Mexican was made out of "nequen." These mantles were used for protection against the sun; they were light and therefore convenient to wear and to have carried (See Tezozomoc, Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[145] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "Y los mayordomos personalmente fuéron á "esta jornada" (against Orizava).

[146] Those tribes which had been made subjects to Mexico were compelled, whenever called upon, to join the armed forces of the Mexicans. Tezozomoc seldom speaks of any foray without mentioning that the subjected tribes took part in it, on the summons of the Mexicans to that effect. See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133); Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXI, p. 49; cap. XLVII, p. 77; cap. LI, p. 83). There is hardly any direct testimony, but the fact is abundantly proven that the Mexicans could call out, and did call out, to their assistance, any tribe which they had previously conquered. See Durán (Cap. XI. p. 313); and Zurita "Rapport, etc." p. 11.

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pan, we shall not attempt to discuss here, reserving it for a future opportunity;[147] it is sufficient to establish that all those tribes, whether regarded by history, as it now appears, as confederated or allied to the Mexicans, or as their subjects, *were at any rate under the military supremacy of Mexico.*[148] Whenever, therefore, from any cause whatever, the Mexican chief-council agreed upon war, delegates were sent to all tribes connected with Mexico,[149] calling upon them to send their forces, with supplies and ammunition, to a certain place where the Mexicans would meet them, and whence all together would proceed, under Mexican command, on the foray determined upon by the tribe of the lake-centre.[150]

Such notifications were never disregarded by the valley-pueblos,[151] still less by those of different stock-languages outside of the valley, and held by the Mexicans as tributary subjects.[152] The force,

[147] It is not to our purpose to determine here whether a league or confederacy existed between Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan, or whether the latter two tribes were subjects of the former. There is a great deal of contradiction among the authors on the subject, and we intend, if possible, to make it the subject of a future discussion.

[148] Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133): "Con Mexico estaban confederados "los Señores de Tezcuco, i Tlacopan, que hora llaman Tacuba, i partian lo que gana- "ban, i obedecian al Señor de Mexico, en lo tocante à la guerra." This is also confirmed by the fact that, when Cortés moved towards Mexico from the coast, he was everywhere told of the great power of the *Mexicans only*, without any reference to the others. On a joint expedition or foray, the Mexican chief commanded the others, even if he was inferior in rank to the "Tlacatecuhtli." (Zurita, p. 11).

[149] This fact is so numerously mentioned by Tezozomoc, that we forbear encumbering with detailed quotations. Almost every other chapter of the Cronica Mexicana, after the 20th about, has a reference to it. Also Durán.

[150] When the Mexicans sallied forth on their unlucky expedition against Mechoacan, in 1479, all the tribes were directed to meet at "Matlatzinco-Toluca" (Tezozomoc, cap. LI, p. 83). Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 288). Axayacatl: "mandó partiese el exercito de "la ciudad y que en sus capitanias fuesen à los términos de los Matlatzincas, y que alli "se hiciese junta de la gente entre estos terminos de Matlatzinco y Tlaximaloyan." On the foray against "Xiquipilco y Xilotepec,"—Chilocan was appointed meeting-place,— "commenced to move the Mexicans, all the others having set out already two or three "days before, for the same place of Chilocan" (Tezozomoc, cap. LXI, p. 102). Durán, speaking of the foray against Meztitlan (Cap. XL, p. 313): "El rey, que mientras le tu- "raua la uncion y estar velando salvo sus insinias y en ayuno y penitencia, que toda la "gente que estuviese apercouida y aparejada se recogiesse en Atotonilco, y que alli "aguardasen todos al demas exercito y en Itzmiquilpan."

[151] There is not a single instance on record that, up to the time the Spaniards arrived, any pueblo had ever ventured to refuse such assistance to the Mexicans. Only when Cortés moved upon Mexico for the second time, did such acts of open rebellion occur.

[152] Some difference existed between the relations of the Mexicans with *kindred* tribes speaking the same ("Nahuatl") language, and with those of other stock. Thus, the "Totonaca" of the coast were held in great subjection, while the Chalca of the valley were treated almost like allies. It is not impossible that the so-called empire of Mexico (or of Anahuac, as it is very erroneously called) may yet prove to have been but a confederacy of the Nahuatlac-tribes of the valley, with the Mexicans as military leaders.

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726 therefore, that sallied out of Mexico was sure to find at the meet-
648 ing-place appointed, numerous reinforcements from various tribes, fully armed and equipped, with an organization similar to their own,[153] ready for the onward march, at the end of which, if successful, a certain share of human victims and of plunder would reward their efforts.[154]

As soon as the entire force was duly collected at the appointed meeting-place, it began to move forward speedily and swiftly, and in a straight line, if possible, towards the enemy's country. The various tribes, as well as their respective subdivisions, kept distinct from each other, led by their own native chiefs. The Mexicans were mostly in the rear. The approach of this body of warriors was not always pleasant to tributary or friendly settlements situated along the marchroute. These were expected to come out with reinforcements, with food and presents, and if any one of them failed or neglected to comply with these requisitions, it became exposed to the most barbarous violence. Such pueblos were sacked, plundered, the people ill-treated. In their fury the Mexicans sometimes went so far as to empty and destroy the stores of maize, and to kill wantonly the few domestic animals (dogs and fowls) of the unfortunate inhabitants.[155]

[724] The tribute which the valley pueblos paid to Mexico may yet, perhaps, prove to have been more a religious offering than anything else. They were certainly more on terms of equality, whereas the foreign tribes were held in subjection proper. The word "popoluca," stammerers, applied by the Mexicans to those of the coast, and which has induced Clavigero to adopt the erroneous idea of a "Popoluca" language, shows the disdain and hatred nourished by tribes of different stock towards each other.

[153] Each tribe had to prepare its own arms and supplies, it remained under its own chiefs and captains. Tezozomoc and Durán both agree on this point. Their organization was essentially the same as that of the Mexicans. Everywhere in the valley, and even in Matlaltzinco, we find the characteristic division of the Mexicans,—the two head-war-chiefs, the four quarters, and the minor captains and braves.

[154] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimeques," Cap. XXXVIII. p. 273) says that Mexico and Tezcuco had each two-fifths, Tlacopan one-fifth, of the spoils. Tezozomoc claims three-fourths for Mexico alone. The point is yet in doubt. (Zurita, "Rapport, etc.," p. 12.)

[724] [155] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "The Mexicans never lacked food nor supplies," when on the march, since they "were so much feared by all the tribes, that as soon as "they arrived they were well received and treated. When their forces were on the "war-path neither man nor woman remained outside of their dwellings, out of fear of "the warriors, and if these perchance met any one, any laborer or trader, they robbed "him even up to his very clothes. Such tribes as did not go out to meet them they plun-"dered and robbed of everything, emptying their stores of maize, killing their fowls "and even their dogs." (Id. Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147.) Durán (Cap. XXI. p. 183): "porque "para el camino los pueblos y ciudades proueian de todo lo necessario, como tengo "dicho, so pena de ser destruidos." It thus appears that for the march the Mexicans did not have to provide any food, since the settlements along the route had to maintain

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The objective point of this march was, as we have already 726
stated, the enemy's territory. There was no strict boundary-line [131]
dividing the tribes of Mexico from each other; a belt of uninhabited or deserted land merely surrounded and thus isolated every tribe.[156] This neutral strip was the ground on which the enemy expected the Mexicans (provided they knew of their coming, and felt strong enough to meet them in the open field).[157] It was, therefore, commonly called "ground of war or battle" ("Yaotlalli"),[158] and as soon as the Mexican force approached this region, its movements grew less swift and proportionately more cautious. At dusk they halted on this dangerous area, selecting for their encampment, if possible, an elevated, open position, unfavorable for surprise. The huts (and perhaps tents) and bowers, for which some materials had been taken along, were hurriedly

them, Duran positively saying, on the same page, after a lengthy enumeration of the [724]
supplies and provisions prepared for the journey: "lo qual, luego fué en seguimiento
"de la gente; lo qual no se proueia sino para el lugar donde se avia de asentar el real,
"porque para el camino los pueblos y ciudades proueian de todo lo necessario, etc.,
"etc., etc." The same author continues (p. 184): "Hacianse seruir como dioses, y en
"todos los caminos no parecia gente por donde iban los soldados y la gente de guerra,
"todos se encerraban que no osauan andar por los caminos, porque los soldados les
"quitaban quanto llevaban en sus cargas, y si acaso le queria defender, los apaleauan
"y herian, y algunos mataban y iban robando las sementeras y matando quantas galli-
"nas y perillos topaban; iban haciendo quanto mal podian, como lo hacen agora
"nuestros españoles, si no los van a' la mano. . . . . y asi en sabiendo que auia
"guerra, todos los vecinos de los pueblos, por donde auian de pasar los del exercito, se
"escondian y escondian el maiz, el chile, las gallinas y los perros, finalmente escondian
"quanto tenian." This shows a very simple mode of subsistance,—they lived upon the country through which they passed. But it also shows the barbarous condition of the Nahuatl tribes. Even on their march through a friendly country from whose annual tribute they partly subsisted, they behaved little better than a large horde of savages, or at least of cut-throats and highway robbers. The "civilized" troops of Europe were little better at that time, and even up to the close of the 17th century.

[156] Gomara ("De las guerras," Vedia, I, p. 442): "They call quiahtlali the space and
"area which they left depopulated between the boundaries of each province for to fight
"there, and it is like unto sacred." See Tezozomoc (Cap. LXVIII, p. 113; cap. LXXXVI, p. 151; cap. XCV, p. 167, etc., etc.). The delegates sent by Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholula, to assist at the festivals in Mexico, were always met "half way in the woods" ("la mitad del monte") separating the tribes. Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques," Cap. XXXIII, p. 125) mentions a boundary line between the territories of Mexico and Tezcuco, but the description of it is such that the statement remains more than doubtful.

[157] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 538: "Quando se admitia la Batalla, y venian
"los unos, contra los otros, salian los de la Provincia, o' Pueblo a' un lugar particular,
"que tenian entre sus terminos los quales llamaban Yauhtlalli, que quiere decir; Ter-
"mino o' Lugar de la Guerra. Aqui salian los Proprietarios de la Tierra a' recibir a los
"contrarios." Also, Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 443).

[158] From "yaotl," enemy, or "yaoyotl," battle or war, and "tlalli," ground or soil.

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726 erected, each tribe camping distinct from the other, the Mexicans occupying the centre of the entire camp.[159]

It was customary with the Mexicans to send out spies who, under different disguises, penetrated the hostile country ere the force had reached its neighborhood.[160] Besides, as soon as the latter halted on the "war-ground," numerous braves ventured out in advance, as scouts, stealthily creeping through the woods, as near the enemy as possible, to ascertain its position and numbers, as well as armament. The information gathered from these sources was reported during the night to the Mexican chieftain in command, who sat in council of war with the other principal leaders. This meeting, guided partly by the information thus obtained, devised the plan of attack for the coming day. The tactics of the [725] Mexicans were extremely simple: a decoy, in the shape of a precipitate retreat, and an ambush at the termination of it, seem to have been their highest conception. Therefore, during the night, they often dug pits far in advance of the encampment, wherein, at the close of the council, the most daring braves (and even the Mexican commander himself, occasionally) concealed themselves, their bodies covered with straw, branches, or foliage.[161] Meanwhile the warriors were overhauling their arms, painting them-

[159] Duran (Cap. XIX, p. 168): "Asi se partio' el exercito de Tulancingo y caminó "hasta llegar á vista de los enemigos, donde empeçaron a' hacer tiendas y xacales, "cada provincia y nacion para si." (Idem, Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 184; cap. XXII, p. 190; cap. XXXVII, p. 288: "donde a' tercer dia se juntaron todos los soldados y gente de "guerra con toda la priesa posible y mandaron asentar el real, el qual asentaron con "muchas tiendas y casas de esteras, quellos usauan en sus guerras y oy en dia las usan "en los mercados, que son unos tendejones de juncos que echan las espadañas.") Tezozomoc (Cap. LI, p. 83; cap. LXXVIII, p. 135). This author contains so many details on this subject that we forbear quoting him further with reference to chapter and page. He distinctly says that each tribe camped by itself, the Mexicans in the middle.

[160] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "enviaban delante sus espias muy disim- "uladas y pláticas en las lenguas de la provincia a' do iban a' dar guerra." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 538) copies almost textually.

[725] [161] Tezozomoc mentions this very frequently. (Cap. XLVIII, he relates how the chief Axayaca hid himself in such a pit, in the foray against the Matlaltzinca. This is confirmed by Durán, Cap. XXXV, p. 277: "Y quedandóse en celada el rey, metidos en- "tre las ramas y otros debaxo de la tierra escondidos todos los soldados viejos y princi- "pales valerosos.") He also mentions (Cap. XIX, pp. 169 and 170) a very extensive ambush of that kind against the Huaxtecas. Mendieta says (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 131): "They used ambushes, and often very artificial ones, since they laid down on the "ground, covering themselves with straw or herbs, etc., etc." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 539) agrees almost literally with the above. Also Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXV): "They used ambushes frequently, and concealed themselves in bushy places, "or even in pits made for that purpose, as the Spaniards often experienced it. Fre- "quently they took to flight in order to draw the enemy into dangerous positions, or to "assail his rear with fresh troops." We shall revert to this point hereafter.

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selves afresh, and the captains attended to their respective detachments, exhorting the men to courage and endurance. Each tribe agreed upon its particular war-cry, to be used in action only. Finally, the whole encampment sometimes joined in an awful yell: the defiant war-whoop of thousands of Indians, and intended to mark, not their presence (which they supposed to be known), but their numbers and ferocity. This shout not unfrequently called forth a response from the enemy lurking in front of them.[162] Then the stillness of the night, of the gloomy and treacherous night preceding an Indian engagement, settled at last upon the "land of war."

This quietness did not last very long. Even if neither of the opposing parties attempted to surprise the other under cover of darkness, both were certainly alert before daybreak.[163] The Mexican force, preceded by a cloud of scattered braves as skirmishers or scouts, advanced cautiously, not in one solid body, but by tribes and subdivisions of tribes, as upon the march. Very soon their extreme outposts encountered those of the enemy, the war-whoop was raised on both sides, and a series of personal combats engaged along the whole line. Pebbles, carried along for that purpose, were hurled by means of the sling; stones picked up from the field were thrown at each other, accompanied by hideous yells and defiant epithets. Then followed darts and arrows, both parties dancing about to avoid the missiles. Meanwhile accessions from the main bodies moved up, the fight came to closer quarters, the sword and club being resorted to. If the enemy was sufficiently strong so as not to give way at once, the Mexicans feigned to retreat, rushing back towards the place where an ambush had been prepared. The pursuing foe, once caught in the trap, was roughly handled, their adversaries pressing upon them from all sides, and his efforts to disentangle himself were always accompanied with the heaviest loss, either in prisoners or in killed. At other points of the line similar snares were extended to the Mexicans by their opponents. Thus the fight progressed like an extensive skirmish, each party bent upon weakening the other by partial losses through rude stratagems, until the enemy, reduced in numbers and dis-

[162] The war-whoop ("alarido," or "la grita," as the Spanish authors call it) is distinct from the war-cry, the latter serving to identify the warriors of the same tribe or "quarter." The former is "tzatziliztli," the latter, "yaotzatziliztli."

[163] The usual time for such attacks was daybreak or dawn (Tezozomoc, Caps. LXXXIV, p. 148, and LXXXVIII, p. 155: "al amanecer del alva").

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726 heartened by the death or capture of many principal warriors, gave way in an unmistakable manner.[164] Then a precipitate

[164] Besides Tezozomoc, who is so full of details on these fights that it is wasting space to quote him extensively, we find the most concise and reliable statements in Mendieta's "Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana." The descriptions of Mendieta agree perfectly with those of Tezozomoc (less with those of Duran), while the two authors had nothing in common, besides, Mendieta, the revered Franciscan father, terminating his work about 1596, and Tezozomoc, the simple Indian, his MSS. in 1598. Neither of these works were printed previous to this century. Mendieta says (Lib. II, cap. XXVI): "At "the outset they sped stones by slings, and rods like darts. . . . . They also threw "stones by hand. Thereafter they resorted to sword and shield, and the archers went "in at the same time well protected thereby, and thus they spent their ammunition. "The archers from Tehuacan sometimes were so dexterous that they sped two or three "arrows at once with the same precision as one bowman would shoot one alone. Af- "ter the vanguard had spent a good deal of their munition they charged with sword "and dart, the sword being of wood, long, and lined with cutting pieces of flint. It "was tied to the wrist, in order that dropping it they might seize an enemy (as "their main object was to capture men alive) without losing the weapon. They had no "style of fencing, neither did they charge directly, but skirmished and rushed back "and forth. At first one party would turn to flee, as it seemed, the others pursuing, "killing and wounding and capturing all those lagging in the rear. Then the party "fleeing would suddenly turn back upon the pursuers, which fled in turn. Thus they "proceeded as in a tournament ('juego de cañas'), until they were tired, when fresh "bodies moved up to take up the fight. They had well disposed and agile people to "care for the wounded, bringing them to the rear where their surgeons were with the "medicines, healing and nursing them." See also, Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXV), and the Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 374): "during the fight they shout "and sing, uttering sometimes the most horrid shrieks." (Mr. Prescott speaks of hospitals which "were established in the principal cities." This is doubtful, at least.) The most detailed account of such an engagement is found in Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 84), confirmed in the main by Durán (Cap. XXXVII, pp. 289 and 290), where he describes the disastrous fight of the Mexicans (1479) against the Tarasca of Michhuacan. It appears from the description of the former that during this bloody conflict, lasting a whole day, the different tribes moved up in succession and distinct from each other. There is but one instance of a higher tactical move, and this is found in Tezozomoc also (Cap. XCVIII, p. 93). When the Mexicans sallied against Tlaxcallan: "the gen- "eral Cuauhnochtli commanded that the Chalca should go by one road or path, those "of Acuihuacan by another, the Tecpaneca by another, and the Mexicans in the centre "where the Tlaxcallans were expected to be; all the other tribes extended in order to "take the Tlaxcalteca in the middle" (surround them). Notwithstanding the glowing descriptions of Clavigero, Torquemada, and Ixtlilxochitl, those engagements turn out to be ordinary Indian skirmishes on a large scale, in proportion to numbers, of course, but still after the same principle. These same authors even indicate, involuntarily, that there were less actions of masses, than individual exploits. For instance, Torquemada relates (Lib. II, cap. LXI, p. 183) that the principal chief, dressing himself in the garb of a common warrior, challenged the prominent chieftain of the enemy to single combat and overcame him, which deed decided the fortunes of the day. Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. XLV) even tells us how a single Tezcucan brave alone fell upon the enemy while his own army was yet at breakfast, and put them all to flight. If such stories are true, they militate strongly against the impression which these same authors would convey to us, of formidable hosts, well organized, opposing each other. A commander, responsible for the fate of tens of thousands committed to his guidance, could not expose his own person in such a manner. Either these stories, or the representation of the numbers engaged, and their tactics, are untrue.

[759] "Surgeons" are mentioned both by Mendieta and Torquemada. The Mexican name of surgeon is "texoxotla ticiti" (Molina, I, p. 35). "Texoxqui" means a sorcerer, and

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retreat began on one side, and an equally rapid pursuit on the other.[165] The objective point of this retreat was the settlement or "pueblo" of the attacked tribe, but if the vanquished succeeded in placing between them and their pursuers some natural obstacle, like a river, or deep ravine, or if they took refuge upon a wooded range of steep hills, then the victors were arrested, as they seldom ventured to attack when this attack necessitated a strong simultaneous effort on the part of the whole force.[166] Still less could they execute rapid flank-movements. In course of time they might circumvent certain obstacles, but then their supplies were so limited that, if there was no positive indication of success, either in storming the position *without great danger*, or in carrying it within a very *short time* by some rude feint, they preferred to desist from further endeavors, and to return home with whatever spoils the battlefield alone had furnished. Thus they "collared"[167] their captives (which had been carefully watched behind the battle-front) and returned to Mexico in moderate triumph, leaving it to future times to proclaim: that such and such a tribe had been subdued by them, whereas they had only defeated it in one engagement, and the tribe had still preserved afterwards its complete independence.[168]

"ticitl" a physician or diviner. Both agree very well with the conception of an Indian "medicine-man." There are, besides, evidences that priests went to war also, and I would suggest that it may have been a part of their duties to care for the wounded. A certain class of priests were called "tlamacazqui," certainly derived from "tlama," physician or doctor.

[165] A slow and orderly retreat is a movement hardly known to Indians. They rush either way, advancing or retiring. Even the return of the Mexicans from the unsuccessful onslaught on the Tarasca (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII. p. 84) was as near to a disorderly flight as possible. Durán says (Cap. XXXVII, p. 291): "El rey Axayacatl mandó, "alçar su real, y asi como huyendo y medio afrentado, con la poca gente que le auia "quedada, todo desbaratado y lo mas de la gente herida."

[166] Mendieta (Lib. II, p. 131): "Those who gained the battle continued the pursuit "until the opponents reached some place where they could fortify themselves." Also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXII, p. 34, and cap. LVII, p. 94).

[167] If, on the battlefield, a captive still resisted, they cut the tendons of his feet, thus rendering him incapable of motion. After the action the prisoners were secured by wooden collars ("cuauh-cozcatl") and thus they were led home in the van of the returning force. Arrived at Mexico they were conducted first to the chief-teocalli, and after prostrating themselves before the idol of Huitzilopochtli, *were marched around the great stone of sacrifice.* (Compare the relation of Adair, "History of the American Indians," Argument XVI, pp. 165 and 167.—Return of a Chikkasah war party from a foray into Illinois, in 1765.)

[168] Such was the case with Meztitlan (Cap. LVII, p. 94, of Tezozomoc, and Durán, Cap. XL, p. 314). Tizoczic made about 40 prisoners, and returned with the loss of 300 men ("Y que con aquello auian los contrarios recogidose a' sus lugares"). Still it is mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl as subject and tributary to the valley tribes.

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726 If the vanquished tribe found no such point of refuge, then the pursuit continued without relenting until the town or settlement itself was reached. Frequently both pursuers and pursued entered it almost at the same time. The torch was applied to the temple first, and an indiscriminate slaughter of non-combatants began.[169]

728 Nothing short of speedy submission to tribute could arrest this butchery. The vanquished, therefore, if not prepared to flee from their homes forever,[170] made signals of peace. A parley ensued, and to it succeeded a surrender on the part of the defeated tribe. Generally one year of tribute was paid in advance, and thus the Mexicans might return homewards loaded, both with the spoils acquired on the battlefield and with the first guarantee of future contributions from the vanquished tribe.[171]

726 It sometimes occurred, however, that the tribe attacked had provided its settlement with artificial defenses, and the Mexicans, victorious in the open field, found themselves in presence of the simple fortifications, which we shall hereafter describe, like palisades or even platforms of earth or stone surmounted by parapets. An attack upon these was only attempted if there appeared no doubt as to the result, in consequence of the superiority of the Mexicans, or of the great losses sustained by their defenders in the previous fights.[172] Then, but only then, ladders were con-

[169] The "teo-calli" or temple being in the centre of the settlement, and also its highest, and therefore, according to Indian notions, its strongest edifice, the destruction thereof by fire was the signal of decisive victory of the assailants. See Tezozomoc (Cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31). Durán (Cap. XV, p. 129).

[170] In cases where the pueblo of the enemy had been completely deserted, either through flight of its inhabitants, or through their extermination, as was the case with Alahuitzlan, these sections were repeopled by colonies from Nahuatl stock. Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXIV, pp. 125 and 126) and Durán (Cap. XLV, p. 364, etc.) both relate in detail how it occurred. This may account in some degree for the presence of Nahuatlac stock at a distance from the valley, and may yet throw some light even upon the singular colonization of the Peruvian "Mitimaes."

[171] This suing for peace, where the tribe was of foreign stock-language, took place, sometimes through interpreters, "nahuatlats," sometimes merely by signs. The defeated generally fled to the top of a hill and from there beckoned to the pursuing Mexicans to stop the carnage, with humble and pitiful gestures. But the first parley did not always result in peace. The massacre of women and children recommenced often twice, ere the tribute offered by the vanquished satisfied the Mexicans. This tribute was exacted in proportion to the resistance offered and to the resources of the tribe. After peace was agreed upon the Mexicans still feasted from the food of those whom they had ruthlessly conquered. The prisoners, once taken, were never released nor exchanged. They had to carry the spoils and tribute to Mexico, but were generally well fed and cared for until the day when they were slaughtered to the idols.

[172] A good illustration is found in Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI), describing the foray against Tututepec and Quetzaltepec. Bât Durán is still more explicit on the same events. According to him (Cap. LVI, p. 547), after the unfortified pueblo of Tu-

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Then, but only then, ladders were con-
structed,[173] and with due precaution and under cover of various [417] 726
feints, the walls were scaled.[174] A regular siege was out of the question, the Mexicans not being provided for a protracted stay outside of their territory. They might lie in wait or hover around the enemy's defenses for a short time, bent upon attempting a surprise of some kind, but if the place could not be carried at a rush in some way the assailants finally had to abandon the attack and return home.[175]

We have heretofore presupposed that the tribe assailed by the Mexicans had been formally challenged, or at least notified of their coming. But this was not always the case. In many instances the Mexicans made their attack without previous warning, and a nocturnal surprise was attempted which was almost sure to succeed.

It is next to superfluous to venture a description of such a nightly onslaught. The scene, like that of the surprise of any settlement whatever by Indians during the hours of darkness, may be faintly imagined, but not adequately told. The main sallies and entries were occupied by the assailants,—creeping up stealthily,—the chief "teo-calli" surrounded, then the war-whoop was raised, and the miserable inhabitants of the pueblo realized at once that they were doomed. Few survivors only remained on such occa- 726
sions, and even these, unless the tribe surrendered at the first on- 727

tutepec had been sacked, the Mexicans moved upon Quetzaltepec, which was well fortified, and whose people sallied forth to meet the Mexicans in the open field three days in succession, until the third day at last they were signally defeated, and the defenses scaled in a rush.

[173] Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI). Durán (Cap. LVI, p. 448). The former describes these ladders ("escalas") minutely, giving their size and the number used.

[174] Tezozomoc speaks of archers posted outside, protecting by a shower of missiles the ascent of the scaling party or parties, while other bodies were burrowing through the wall. Durán gives a more plausible statement (p. 448): "Otro dia salió al campo la "gente tepaneca con toda su provincia, que era gran numero de gente, la qual se avo "tan valerosamente, que no los pudiendo resistir los de la ciudad, se empeçaron a' re- "traer hacia el muro. Montecuma, viendo que los tepanecas peleaban tan valerosamente "y que hacian retirar al enemigo, mandó tocar al arma, y en un punto salió el Mexicano "al campo y por otra parte el tezcucano, y arremetiendo todos de trapel, apellidando "los unos Mexico, Mexico, los otros Tezcuco, Tezcuco, acudieron cada uno por su "parte rompiendo por el exercito de los enemigos; y aunque de las murallas recibian "gran daño de las piedras grandes y troços de palos que arrojaban, llegaron a' ella y "arrimando escalas, y otros, como gatos, subieron por ella, y otros cabando por el "cimiento ganaron la primera cerca." This shows that indeed it was carried at a rush.

[175] For this reason the wars with the neighboring tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholullan, took the shape of regular fights at stated times. A long campaign was out of all question. We may, in the course of this essay, investigate shortly the question of the wars between Mexico and Tlaxcallan, although it is not properly pertaining to the object of the present discussion.

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726 727 set, were all carried into captivity except such as could escape into the wilderness lying beyond their cultivated areas of soil.[176]

726 175 The Mexicans, however, were not exclusively successful on their numerous forays and expeditions. More than once they met with severe defeats, and on one occasion even, in their attack upon Michhuacan, in 1479, they were so terribly beaten that they never afterwards renewed the attempt.[177]

726 Besides, in their constant wars against the rival confederacy, also of "Nahuatl" stock, at whose head was the tribe of *Tlaxcallan* or Tlascala, the fortunes of the day often turned against the Mexican invaders, or at least assailants.[178] In the first instance, that of the defeat in Michhuacan, the Mexicans actually fled from the battlefield in consternation, pursued by the victorious enemy across the "war-ground," but no further.[179] The engagements with the tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, or Cholula, were fought so near the valley that even if the Mexicans had been worsted during the day, they could retire quietly and mostly unmolested the next morning.[180] The manner in which such retreats were carried on is hardly known.

[176] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 148) describes as follows the attack upon Nopallan and Yepatepec: "Arriving at midnight, they moved so secretly that they reached the "royal house, counted the entrances and sallies, ascended to the top of the temple," etc., etc. Then the scouts returned to the main temple, reporting upon what they had found, and when the morning star arose they fell upon the settlement, "each body "moving like a strong wall and with the swiftness of lightning, ... and they "began to slaughter so furiously that neither old people, nor women, nor children "were spared, and they set fire to the houses, also to the temple, so that the place "looked like a volcano." (Compare the reports upon the burning of Schenectady by the French and Indians, in 1689,—contained in vol. I, of "Documentary History of the "State of New York." pp. 297-312.)

[177] Tezozomoc (Cap. LII). Durán (Cap. XXXVII). The date is fixed by Señor Alfredo Chavero, of Mexico, in his valuable essay entitled "Calendario Azteca" (p. 4).

[648] [178] This confederacy consisted of Tlaxcallan and Huexotzinco,—perhaps also Atlixco. Cholula may, to a certain extent, have been included in it, but it was certainly not any longer the case when Cortés arrived. On the contrary, Cholula was then on friendly terms with Mexico. Cortés says ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 19): "por-"que los naturales della eran amigos de Mutecçuma;" and, further on (p. 21), "y fice "que los desta ciudad de Churultecal, y los de Tascaltecal fuesen amigos, porque lo "solian ser antes, y muy poco tiempo habia que Mutecçuma con dadivas los habia "aducido a' su amistad, y hechos enemigos de estotros."

[179] The pursuit lasted until they reached Tlaximaloyan (Tagimaroa), at the confines of Toluca. Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 85): "Llego' el campo Tarasco hasta Tagi-"maroa, que dizen Tlaximoyalan: los otros que habian llegado hasta los terminos de "Toluca se volvieron, viendo que su campo ño llegava: al iva adelante." The pursuit of the Michhuacanese consisted in harassing the Mexicans with arthers, but no close combats are mentioned.

[648] 721 [180] The wars of the Mexicans against Tlaxcallan and its associates were a struggle for definitive supremacy, and not, as many authors have it, pre-arranged regular bat-

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Until now we have considered the Mexicans only when in conflict with tribes of their own country and race, inferior or equal to them in degree of culture, and proportionately in military resources. But we must necessarily cast a glance upon their wars against their subsequent conquerors, the Spaniards, and investigate how far our pictures of the organization and the military tactics of the Mexican tribe are confirmed by the events of the conquest. Ere, however, we enter upon this discussion, which shall also furnish us with an illustration of *defensive* Indian warfare in Mexico, it is urgent that we should become acquainted with the nature of *fortifications* erected and used by the aborigines.

While there exists distinct evidence that walls of stone were erected occasionally for the defense of certain positions *not directly connected with*, or in the *immediate vicinity of*, *settlements*, such instances are very rare. Such is the famous wall by which the Tlaxcallans closed the valley of their eastern confines.[181] In general, the conception of the tribes of Mexico in fortifying any particular place, amounted to *raising it above the surrounding level*, and crowning this raised area with a *parapet* of stone or wood. It is not quite clear whether the elevation extended *always* to the

ties, for the purpose of mutually obtaining victims for religious offerings, and for the exercise of the young men in the art of war. The fact that these battles took place at fixed days and at certain places appointed, is no proof of the latter, but it simply resulted from the custom of challenging an enemy, and meeting him therefore at a specified time and on the "war-ground." (Compare Durán, Cap. LIX, p. 465). The respective forces being quite evenly matched, these actions were renewed from time to time, each party hoping to tire out the other, until to be able to strike a decisive blow; but neither succeeded so far, so that in fact the battles remained practically undecided. Against Tlaxcallan the Mexicans made one great attempt, when the confederacy of the former with those of Huexotzinco was broken up for a short time, and the latter applied to Mexico for assistance against the Tlaxcallans, who had invaded the soil of Huexotzinco. There is as yet a great deal of contradiction and obscurity in regard to those inter-tribal wars, and the pompous descriptions thereof by many authors are scarcely trustworthy. One point appears positive, that however often the Mexicans may have been the worst sufferers in these fights, neither the Tlaxcallans nor their allies were ever able to threaten Mexico seriously. In course of time there is hardly any doubt but that the Mexicans would have tired out and conquered their adversaries, as they had previously tired out and finally subjugated the tribe of Chalco, in the valley. For a truly natural description of these engagements, I refer the reader to the pages of Durán, and especially of Texcocomoc.

[181] See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 15): "E a' la Salida del dicho valle fallé "una gran cerca de piedra seca, tan alta como estado y medio, que atravesaba todo el "valle de la una sierra a' la otra, y tan ancha como veinte piés, y por toda ella un petril "de pié y medio de ancho, para pelear desde encima, y no mas de una entrada tan an"cha como diez pasos, y en esta entrada doblada la una cerca sobre la otra a' manera "de rebelin, tan estrecho como cuarenta pasos . . ." Also, Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXII). Gomara (p. 288. "El primer rencuentro que Cortés tobo con los de Tlaxcalan"). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXIX). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. IV).

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361 An attack by water could easily be repelled from the housetops,
312 and with the aid of the numerous canoes.[200] An Indian host, ad-
712 vancing upon the causeways, found serious impediments in the cuts converted into trenches by removal of the bridges. Against a sudden onslaught, a surprise, Indian fashion, Mexico was therefore amply secure,[201] nothing short of a siege might overcome its defenses. But no Indian force alone could attempt and carry out such an undertaking; it required the resources which the *Spaniards, as European soldiery*, possessed.

726 The effect of the first contact of the whites with the Indians of Mexico was to astonish, nay, to stupefy, the latter. They *felt*, rather than realized, that the few people who ventured so unconcernedly in appearance, among largely superior numbers, should possess superior resources to counterbalance their numerical inferiority. But the true nature of these resources was unconceivable to them, and they had no time to improve as the emergency would have required. Thus their warfare against the Spaniards became limited to all they might achieve according to their actual state of culture, and if they succumbed in the struggle, we need not be surprised. Besides the vast inferiority in armament, there existed a proportionate one in military tactics. In the words of the most celebrated author on the History of the Conquest: "They knew not how to concentrate numbers on a given point, "or even how to sustain an assault, by employing successive "detachments to support and relieve each other. A very small "portion only of their array could be brought into contact with "an enemy inferior to them in amount of forces."[202] We may add that their tactical conceptions did not go beyond the rude snares invented by savage cunning, and in their first encounters with the Spaniards (when they yet relied upon numerical superiority) beyond a fierce and disorderly onslaught.

726 It may not be misplaced here to review some of the principal
175 engagements fought between the Mexican Indians and their Spanish conquerors. For this purpose we select the campaign of Cor-

[200] These canoes, "acalli," were constantly in motion within and around the pueblo. They kept up communication with the shores, and also served to carry the warriors, if necessary. We refrain from repeating here the many exaggerating reports about their numbers.

[201] Besides, constant watch was held by the priests on the summits of the temple-pyramids. These were the real "guards" of the pueblo, in the daytime as well as at every hour of the night.

[202] Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," 1860. Vol. I, Book III, p. 445).

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tés against Tlaxcallan, and the celebrated fight near Otumpan, both of which have been so beautifully described by Mr. Prescott. Although in the engagements against the Tlaxcallans the Mexicans proper were not concerned, we know that both tribes were so nearly alike in military resources and faculties, that we can easily substitute the one for the other, taking the action of the one as illustrative of the action of the other in a similar emergency. At Otumpan Mexicans and allied tribes opposed the Spaniards. Both examples will more particularly relate to *offensive* warfare, being combats in the open field.

Purposely we have used the term of "*campaign*" as connected with Tlaxcallan, avoiding the conception of "battles," or "great "battles" even, so liberally employed by the majority of authors. It is erroneous to admit that *regular battles* were ever fought during the time Cortés advanced against the pueblo of Tlaxcallan. As far as we can rely upon the testimony of eye-witnesses, they merely prove that the Tlaxcallans allured, so to say, by the numerical inferiority of the Spanish invaders, pounced upon them with all the fury of a wild horde and, being saluted by a well nourished fire of murderous effect, they returned to their primitive warfare of decoys, ambushes, and surprises, hoping to tire out the Spaniards through this constant and desultory skirmishing. The tactics of Cortés, on this occasion, were simply to hold out in defensible positions; a task of no small difficulty if we consider that his men during many days could obtain no rest, and scarcely any food. But by persevering in this attitude he "turned the tables" upon the Indians of Tlaxcallan by finally tiring out, and wearing out, their power of *aggression*. Then *he* took the *offensive*, and by successful dashes, both revictualled his people and brought the enemy to favorable terms.[203]

[203] The descriptions furnished by various authors of the 16th century, of this campaign against Tlaxcallan are most contradictory. Ixtlilxochitl says in his 13th Relation ("De la venida de los Españoles") that from Cempoalan to Tlaxcallan "the natives "received them with the greatest joy, feasted them, and there were neither fights nor "quarrels, beyond those which the Spaniards themselves provoked; *if there were any at all.*" In the "Histoire des Chichimèques," however, the same author speaks of an action of two days, in which he estimates the numbers of the Tlaxcallans at 150,000 men (Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 139).—Tezozomoc (Cap. CX, p. 190) relates that the Otomies of Tecoac met together and spoke: "are we perhaps the vassals of those that have come? "did they overcome us in just war? come on, Chichimecas, to arms against them!—and "so, as like mountaineers, they forthwith armed themselves, and as they came shouting "and hurling darts, the camp armed also, and gave them a discharge of small arms "and fieldpieces, so that after an hour nothing more was left to do, the entire field "being covered with dead bodies." This agrees almost verbally with Sahagun (Lib. XII, Cap. X, p. 62).

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726 175 Of all the actions fought during the conquest none has taken so much the character of a regular battle as that of the 8th of July, 1520, and commonly named the battle of Otqmpan. It was, however, but a "running fight," lasting a whole day or nearly. The Spaniards, without fire-arms, almost famished, reduced in numbers, and mostly all wounded, were pursued as soon as they left the pue-

Cortés ("Carta Segunda" Vedia I, p. 16 and 17) gives a clearer description from which we glean the following facts: On entering the Tlaxcallan grounds, the van-guard of the Spaniards fell into an ambush, which they soon forced. "E desque sintiéron que "los nuestros se acercaban se retiraron, porque eran pocos, y nos dejaron el campo." He then moved on to a small stream, one league further, where he established his camp. The next day the Spaniards proceeded further, and were soon assaulted by a number of Indians. "Muy armados y con muy gran grita, y comenzaron a pelear con nosotros. "tirándonos muchas varas y flechas." This attack was a feint, and drew the whites into an ambuscade ("hasta nos meter entre mas de cien mil hombres de pelea, que por todas "partes nos tenian cercados, y peleamos con ellos, y ellos con nosotros, todo el dia, "hasta una hora antes de puesto el sol, que se retrajéron."); *they continued advancing however all day*, and at night occupied the defensive position which Cortés thereafter held until the Tlaxcallans submitted. "Aquella noche me fice fuerte en una torricella "de idolos que estaba en un cerito." On the following day Cortés made a successful razzia upon five or six small settlements, and on the next morning the Tlaxcallans in turn attempted to attack the Spanish camp. This attack was speedily repulsed, the Spaniards fortifying their position so, "que en obra de cuatro horas habiamos fecho "jugar para que en nuestro real no nos ofendiesen, puesto que todavia hacian algunos "arremetidas." In other words, the Tlaxcallans rushed up against the encampment, were beaten back, and then hovered around during the remainder of the day, skirmishing, and attempting to draw their foes into ambushes which they held prepared. From this time on the Indians never assaulted, but Cortés made occasional sallies and forays, revictualling his men, and burning the houses and crops of the natives, until the tribe made proposals of peace.

Andrès de Tapia, another eye witness, an officer of high rank. ("Relacion, Col: "de Doc, II, pp. 567 and 568") fully confirms the statement of Cortés. The first day's engagement he describes as follows: "And about eight in the morning there sallied "forth against us so many men of war, that it strikes me as if there had been one hun-"dred thousand, while some are of opinion that there were many more. Some of them "expected us in certain deep ravines of streams crossing our path, and, traversing "them with much difficulty, we went in against them.....The Marquis always went in "the lead with the horsemen, fighting, and returning from time to time to concert his "men, keeping them close together....Some Indians would close up with the horsemen "so as to seize their lances, and thus while *fighting they proceeded that day* to a house "of idols near which were two or three huts. There the Spaniards established them-"selves during eighteen days, and went out fighting as the Marquis commanded. . ."

. . . . .

According to the above two eye-witnesses, the "great battle" of the 2d Sept: 1519. (Prescott Vol. I, p. 427) appears on the part of the Indians, to have consisted of a wild rush or dash (perhaps a feint) speedily repulsed, an ambush, soon forced, and for the remainder of the day constant skirmishing and harassing of the Spanish march, until the latter reached a strong position. The "decisive victory" of the 5th Sept: 1819 (Prescott, Vol. I, pp. 437-447) was a fierce onslaught upon the Spanish camp at daybreak ("Otro "dia en amaneciendo dan sobre nuestro real mas de ciento y cuarenta y nueve mil "hombres," Cortés, p. 16) which met with a prompt repulse, and the remainder of the day was also filled with more or less heavy skirmishing on both sides. These are the two prominent days of fighting during the entire two weeks of hostilities against Tlaxcallan, and they certainly were not pitched battles, as commonly admitted. An atten-

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blo of Zacamulco in the morning. Harrassed in flank and rear by the Mexicans who, not any longer checked by the volleys of musketry, dashed up to closer quarters, the Spaniards toiled on, fighting and marching, until, in the plains of Apan, they were completely surrounded on all sides. This was the *final ambush* prepared for them by the Mexicans. The engagement *there* must have been of the most desperate character, but it was of *short duration*, the Spaniards, with the courage of despair, cutting their way out. The Indians had so firmly relied upon annihilating their foes on that day that they desisted from future pursuit.[204]

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The engagements near Otumpan were the last conflicts occurring after the terrible night of the 1st of July, 1520, and previous to the resumption of the campaign by Cortés, from his headquarters at Tlaxcallan. The numerous actions which took place after-

tive and critical reading even of the third eye-witness, the too much esteemed Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Historia verdadera" in Vedia II, Caps. LXIII, LXIV, LXV, p. 55 to 58) confirms these views to the fullest possible extent, although the latter, bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position, less acquainted with general operations, enhances the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It must not be inferred from the above that the achievements of the Spaniards are therefore less memorable. If the fighting was on a scale different from that of European wars, it was none the less exhausting. Any charge of a few horsemen could scatter the enemy, but the next moment a new attack, from some unexpected quarter might be looked for. The danger consisted less in injury on the battlefield, than in the gradual wearing out of the men by the never ceasing watchfulness required. The successful result reflects the highest credit upon the military capacity of the Spaniards, as well as upon their great commander.

[204] Cortés ("Carta Segunda") pp. 45, 46. "And it appeared as if the Holy Ghost had "enlightened me by this advice, after what occurred the next day. For, having moved "on in the morning, at the distance of one and a half leagues large numbers of Indians "came to meet us, so that in the van, rear and flanks the field seemed covered with "them, and they assailed us with such violence, that we hardly knew each other, from "being mixed up with them. . . . In this condition *we remained much of the whole* "*day*, until it pleased God that one of their number was killed, who appeared to be of "such quality, that with his death the fight ceased. Then we proceeded, somewhat "relieved, but nevertheless exhausted, until to a small house in the plain, where we "staid for the night." . . . . .

The ambush had been prepared for several days (Bernal-Diez, Cap. CXXVIII, p. 136), for during their incessant pursuit on the preceding days the Mexicans had shouted to them: "Thither you shall go where none of you will escape alive" (p. 136). Sahagun (Lib. XII, Cap. XXVII, p. 434) says the Spaniards halted: "Los Españoles como les "vieron ir tras si con gran prisa entendieron que querian pelear y pararonse y pusiéronse "en órden de guerra; y los mexicanos como eran muchos tomaron en media á los Espa-"ñoles y commenzaron á combatirlos de todas partes." See also Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist: "des Chichimeques" Cap. LXXXIX). It was certainly a hand to hand conflict, the Indians, feeling sure to overpower their foes, striving to *capture* as many of them as possible *alive*. This, and the few horses remaining, saved the Spanish troop.

It is upon the statement of Bernal-Diez, that when the emblem or token carried by or near one of the principal chiefs fell, the fight ceased, that the conception has arisen, as if the fall of the chief banner decided the fate of an engagement. But there is no other evidence of the existence of a central banner or emblem.

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726 wards are of minor interest to us up to the time when the siege of
175 Mexico began. A rapid sketch of the events of this siege, however, should illustrate the *defensive* warfare of the Mexicans.

648 It is well known how, by a shrewd policy, as well as by able
175 strategy, Cortés succeeded in *dismembering*, rather than overpow-
726 ering, the Nahuatl confederacy of the valley of Mexico. He thus isolated the Mexican tribe proper, cut off its sources of reinforcement, and, above all, cut off its *subsistence*, by depriving it of tribute and barter. The time came at last when even those pueblos on the lake shores nearest to Mexico could not, or would not, any longer recognize friendly connections with their former military head. The surface of the water-sheet and the causeways were alone left to the tribe and to such additional warriors as had joined them in their abode, from the outside, to share their fate. As long as the lake could be freely navigated by Mexican canoes, any point of the mainland was exposed to attack by their warriors. Therefore Cortés launched his boats or "brigantines," which soon cleared Lake Tezcuco proper, driving the canoes to shelter in the narrow canals which ran all through the pueblo. His land forces occupied three out of the four issues of the causeways on the mainland. *Then* the Mexicans were effectually hemmed in, without any outlet beyond the limited circulation on the ponds lying west of the chief causeways. Cortés' first step was to seize Chapultepec, and to cut off the supply of fresh water running thence along the causeway to Mexico.[205] Thus deprived of drinking water, almost, since that of the lagune was not wholesome, with limited supplies of food only, the Mexican tribe was surrounded by human enemies *without*, whilst two of the greatest plagues of mankind, thirst and famine, were sure to threaten them, ultimately, *within*.

[205] Mexico was provided with a constant supply of fresh water from Chapultepec. (Clavigero, Lib. VII, Cap. LIV.) The channels were constructed of stone, five feet high, and two feet broad (Cortés, "Carta Segunda"). It was one of the first moves of Cortés to seize the spring supplying these channels. The Mexicans, feeling the importance of the action, defended the position desperately. (Bernal-Diez. Cap. CL, p. 176.) "Acor-"damos que entrambas capitanias juntas fuésemos à quebrar el agua de chapultepeque "de que se proveia la ciudad, que estaba desde allí de Tacuba aun no media legua. "E yendo à los quebrar los caños, toparonnos muchos guerreros, que nos esperaban en "el camino; porque bien entendido tenian que aquello habia de ser el primero en que "los podiamos dañar; y asi como nos encontraron cerca de unos pasos malos, comen-"zaron à nos flechar y tirar vara y piedra con hondas, é nos hirieron à tres soldados; "mas de presto les hicimos volver las espaldas, y nuestros amigos los de Tlascala les "siguieron de manera, que mataron veinte y prendieron siete ò ocho dellos; y como "aquellos grandes escuadrones estuvieron puestos en huida, les quebramos los caños "por donde iba el agua à su cindad, y desde entonces nunca se fué à Mejico entre tanto "que duró la guerra." (Also Cortés. 1 Carta III, p. 71.)

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Cortés might have quietly *waited* for these two terrible allies to do their work almost alone, had it not been for two reasons: 174 726

The principal reason was, that his position was not secure among the fickle Indian tribes, which the thirst for revenge, the lust of spoil, and dazzling success on his part had temporarily attached to his fate. A protracted siege lay beyond the military conceptions, nay, beyond the military *ability* of the Indians. They could not remain outside of their homes for such a length of time.[206]

On the other hand, the Mexicans, equally unprepared for a lengthy defence, compelled him to aggressive action.

Resorting to their only mode of warfare where a sudden dash with overwhelming numbers was not any longer possible,[207] they made a number of feints, with the intention of drawing their enemies into an ambush. Moving against the Spaniards and their allies upon the causeways, they precipitately fled towards the first cut as soon as that onslaught was repulsed. When the pursuers arrived there, they would be charged in flank by heavy bodies of warriors, while in front it rained missiles of every kind upon them from behind the embankments erected on the inner side of the ditches.[208] The Spaniards, however, knew too well how disastrous

[206] Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLIII, p. 188, Vedia II) "Dejemos de hablar de los grandes "combates que nos daban; y digamos como nuestros amigos los de Tlascala y de Cholu- "la y Guaxocingo, y aun los de Tezcuco, acordaron de se ir à sus tierras." They were disheartened, says the old captain (p. 189), but there is no wonder, since the place had not been carried, Indian-fashion, at a rush, and thus they grew tired of waiting.

It is the most decisive testimony in favor of our views, heretofore already expressed, that the Mexican Indians were not able to carry on a protracted campaign, still less a siege of any duration.

[207] During the siege, there is hardly any doubt but that the Indian allies of Cortés *outnumbered the Mexicans*. It would be, of course, unsafe to rely upon the numerical statements of the old authorities. They all vary. But if we only recollect that Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, Cholula, Chalco, Tescuco, and some of the other main tribes joined the Spaniards, it necessarily convinces us that the numerical superiority was on the side of the besiegers. The great art of Cortés lay in consolidating the forces of these different tribes, which otherwise, in many cases, were enemies of long standing. With the Spaniards *as their leaders*, the fate of Mexico was sealed, provided they held out long enough. In all the engagements, the European soldiers formed but the nucleus around which their allies agglomerated. If *they* advanced, the others followed, occupying always so many of the Mexicans, and diverting them from falling too heavily upon the whites. In proportion, however, as the power of the Mexicans gave out, the deeds of the allies of Cortés grew more prominent, since there were more non-combatants to slaughter.

[208] The bridges had all been removed, and entrenchments constructed *behind* them. Besides, pits had been dug, with earthworks on both sides, for the express purpose of arresting the cavalry. Long lances, armed with sword blades captured from the Spaniards during the "Noche triste," were used by the Mexicans to attack the horsemen. Against the brigantines, rows of pointed piles had been rammed in below the surface of

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174a 726 a retreat would prove under such circumstances, so, followed by their native allies, they persisted and overcame the obstacles by *storm*. The very Indian tactics intended for the destruction of the whites enabled the latter to gain a foothold on the causeways with less loss than a directly planned assault would have entailed.[209]

175 726 Until then, the Mexicans could make use of canoes, harassing both flank and rear of their enemies. But Cortés speedily widened the first cut in the causeway, and sent his scows with artillery to the west side.[210] Thence on, while the brigantines could not effect anything against the pueblo itself, they still kept at bay the canoes of the Mexicans, and moving up along the causeways with the land force, they successfully sustained, by a lively cannonade, the efforts of the latter against the defences at the cuts and ditches.[211]

the water. Bernal-Diez (Cap. CL, pp. 176, 177) relates that, after the corps of Alvarado had occupied Tacuba, the Mexicans began to shout to them vociferously from the causeways and the water (then yet free to them). "Y aquellas palabras que nos decian eran "con pensamiento de nos indignar para que saliésemos aquella noche à guerrear, y herir-"nos mas á su salvo." Further on he says: "Y como aquello hubimos hecho, acordaron "nuestros capitanes que luego fuésemos á dar una vista y entrar por la calzada de Tacu-"ba y hacer lo que pudiésemos para les ganar una puente; y llegados que fuimos á la "calzada, eran tantas las canoas que en la laguna estaban llenas de guerreros y en las "mismas canoas y calzadas, que nos admirábamos dello; y tiraron tanta de vara y "flecha y piedra con hondas, que en la primera refriega hirieron treinta de nuestros "soldados é murieron trés; y aunque nos hacian tanto daño, todavia les fuimos entrando "por la calzada adelante hasta una puente, y à lo que yo entendi, ellos nos daban lugar "à ello, por meternos de la parte de la puente; y como allí nos tuvieron, digo que car-"garon tanta multitud de gue.reros sobre nosotros que no nos podiamos valer." The Mexicans always *provoked* the Spanish attack, until the brigantines were masters of the ponds lying to the west of Mexico, also. (See also Cortés, "Carta tercera," Vedia I, p. 71."

[209] The first attack of Alvarado was repulsed. But subsequently they captured "many works and bridges." The fighting was very obstinate, the Mexicans charging at every hour of the day and night. See Prescott (Vol. III, Book VI, Cap. p. 106 and 107). "During the first five or six days after their encampment, the Spaniards experi-"enced much annoyance from the enemy, who too late endeavored to prevent their "taking up a position so near the capital, and which, had they known much of the sci-"ence of war, they would have taken better care themselves to secure. Contrary to "their usual practice the Indians made their attacks by night as well as by day. The "water swarmed with canoes, which hovered at a distance in terror of the brigantines, "but still approached near enough, especially under cover of the darkness, to send "showers of arrows into the Christian camp."

[210] The brigantines were flat-bottomed scows, manned with small guns. Even on the water, the Mexicans resorted to ambushes. The vicinity of the pueblo was surrounded by rows of pointed piles, below the surface of the lake, and squadrons of canoes were sent to decoy the brigantines into such treacherous places. On one occasion they succeeded in capturing one of the vessels in this manner. (Prescott, Vol. III, p. 28, quoting from Bernal-Diez.)

[211] The points occupied by the three Spanish divisions were: Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo), at the north, Tacuba at the west, and Cuyuacan to the southwest. It was originally intended to occupy Iztapalapan, but the position could not be carried, and

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In this manner the favorite Mexican tactics of decoy and ambush were gradually overcome step by step, with little loss of life. Their treacherous sallies were not only not dreaded, they were even *desired*, since each of them procured a new basis to the assailants, who thus eventually reached, from three sides, the entrance to the pueblo. This pueblo lay before them seemingly open and unfortified. It was not a connected town, but a group of minor clusters, interspersed with gardens, through which water courses filtered in all directions. From large squares, massive truncated pyramids arose, crowned with houses of worship. A few wide thoroughfares led up to the main teo-calli, which the Spaniards regarded as the centre of the settlement. The Mexicans had again cut these thoroughfares, erecting bulwarks of stone and earth behind them. These defences could be carried by storm, and the heart of the pueblo reached. But once there, and far enough from their basis, the victorious Spaniards saw the flat housetops suddenly swarm with Indians, which showered all kinds of missiles upon them. Into their rear large bodies of warriors poured by alleys and cross-streets, occupying the very trenches they had just passed. Nothing remained for the assailants but to retreat upon the causeways; a movement not always easy, and certainly attended with loss. In order to avoid such dangerous ambushes, in which the temples served as decoys, and each communal dwelling as a hiding place for the enemy, Cortés was compelled to advance slowly and cautiously. No trench was left in the rear without being properly filled up, and in the end, seeing that the entire pueblo was but a complicated trap where every house was an eventual stronghold, he resorted much against his will, to the desperate expedient of levelling to the ground all constructions which might afford lurking places to the Mexicans.

Thus, step by step, the tribe of Mexico was driven into a narrower space. A constantly widening girdle of smouldering ruins closed upon them from all sides, and if, with the energy of despair, they dashed time and again upon this ghastly belt, they met at its inner limits their wary foes, which hurled them back, im-

thus Sandoval, who commanded, marched his corps to the north side. The division advancing from Cuyuacan soon seized Xoloc, where the dykes met, and cut off all communication with the south. The brigantines, after clearing the lake, and dislodging the Mexicans from some eminences arising above the water, where small "teo-calli" had been erected, kept up communication between the three divisions, and assisted them in their efforts against the trenches of the causeways.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

175 proving the opportunity to advance further towards them.
●726 Meanwhile, hunger was looming up in their midst, engendering pestilence. Their bodies were weakening day by day, there were no means of subsistence left, the women and children wandered about like living corpses, without fear of Cortés' ruthless Indian
[645] allies. Still the tribe did not submit, and when, twice, the war-chiefs represented the futility of future defence, the "chief council," as supreme authority, sternly declared: "that it was better to die "fighting, than to remain in the power of those who would en-"slave and torture them."[212] At last, on the 13th of August, 1521, Cortés, advancing "across the black and blasted environs "which lay around the Indian capital," ordered a final onslaught upon the miserable remnants of the Mexicans: "huddled together "in the utmost confusion, all ages and sexes, in masses so dense "that they nearly forced one another over the brink of the cause-"ways into the water below. Some had climbed on the terraces, "others feebly supported themselves against the walls of the "buildings. Their squalid and tattered garments gave a wildness "to their appearance, which still further heightened the ferocity of "their expression, as they glared on their foes with eyes in which "hate was mingled with despair."[213] Exposed to a destructive fire from all sides, the half famished crowd attempted a feeble resistance, then scattered, preferring flight to surrender. But they were speedily overtaken and the principal chiefs captured, thus leaving Mexico definitively in the hands of the Spaniards.

726 We have purposely dwelt at some length on the events of the
642 siege of the pueblo of Mexico. It is because they illustrate, better than any other page of their history, Indian *defensive* warfare, carried to its highest point of development. The Mexicans, during this memorable defence, achieved the most that any Indian tribe could achieve, up to the Sixteenth Century. Their resistance, in that respect, stands *unparalleled*. Besides, its very tenacity, the fortitude with which they bore, without yielding, the greatest sufferings, are a further evidence that what they did, was not out of fear of a crushing despotism ruling them with an

[212] Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CLIV, p. 191, and CLV, p. 191). The Council opposed the advice of Quauhtemotzin, who was for surrender:—"poniendole por delante el fin de su tio el gran montezuma," p. 194.

[213] W. H. Prescott (Book VI, cap VIII, p. 200 and 201).

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

iron hand, but by *free common consent*. It is an additional proof of the facts we have advanced: that the Mexicans were not subject to a despotical power, but organized after the principles of a barbarous, but free *military democracy*.

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441 765 778 his statue spent in his tribal district [temple]. One day it was [there]; one day it remained seated. And then, when it was midnight, they burned it there in [the place] which they called the god's courtyard, at the eagle vessel, [or] on the skull rack.

But if the merchant had only died on the ground[3] — that is to say, if he had not died in battle, if perchance he had only taken sick, in the very same way they prepared his statue, but only in his home did it burn — not at midnight: while yet there shone a little sun, when he already was turning on his left side,[4] when the sun hung low, they burned it.

auh intla çā otlalmjc ontomecatl, qujtoznequj: intlacamo oiaoznjc, in aço çan ococolizcujc, çan ie no ivi in quichichioaia ieujllo, ioce çan ichan in tlatlaia, amo ioalnepantla, oc achi tonatiuh, iquac in ie onmotzcalo, onmopiloa tonatiuh qujtlatiaia.

●726 Likewise it was said that at the time of the day sign One Serpent, if it was established precisely at that time, when war was declared and proclaimed among the people, when, it was said, war was announced, at that very time the war began. At that time all the eagle and ocelot warriors set out to battle; all followed, crowded, and filled the road. They arose, they set out, departed, marched, and hastened.

No ioan mjtoa: in iquac ypan in ce coatl tonalli, intla ipanti, ipan motlalia, in jquac oiaotlatoloc, oteiaotlalhujloc, in omjto, in otecaqujtiloc iaoiotl, vel iqua ipan vnpeoaia in iaoc: vncan iaoqujxoaia, ipan otlatocoia, ipan vnneotemaloia, vnmotema, onmacocuj, onmolinja, ea, nēncmj, icxiconana, in jxquich quauhtlocelotl:

X787 And if one were born upon the day sign One [Serpent],[5] they said, the readers of the day signs corrected it and bestowed gifts upon him. He would become a receiver of favors, worthy of good deserts and merit; he would prosper and have sustenance. But if he did not do his penances well, according to his day sign, his gifts and favors would not come upon him. He himself would harm and destroy it. It was said that by his own act he neglected it and destroyed it by vice, etc.

auh in aqujn ipan otlacat ce oçelotl tonalli, qujtoaia, quipāltiaia, qujnemactiaia in tonalpouhque, tlacnopilhujanj, ilhujle, mācoale muchioaz, mocujltonoz, vnca qujquanj iez: auh intlaca mouellamacoa, in iuhquj itonal in, amo ipan muchios in jnemac, in jcnopil: çan iehoatl qujmitlacalhuja, qujtopopolhuja, mjtoa. ieeviian conmocaujlia, qujmotlāçolmjctilia. Eᶜ.

[851 553] He who was then born they did not yet bathe; they bathed him later, on Three Deer, and then gave him a name, for the reason already many times told: the day sign of the third place, when they waited for the day, the readers of day signs considered favorable. So they took this following one for him; this time they arranged and postponed it in order to give him a very strong day sign.

yn aqujn ipā otlacat in, aiamo caltiaia, qujn ipā caltiaia in Ey maçatl: iquac qujtocamaca, ipampa ie mjecccan omjto: in eitioaian tonalli, in jquac tlacemilhujtiltia, qujqualittaia in tonalpouhque: iehoatl ic contlastotoqujlaia, vmpa qujtlatequjniaia, vmpa contlachieltiaia, injc cenca qujtonalchicaoaia.

And Two Death, which followed, so they said, was evil; at this time there was nothing of merit. But Three Deer, so they said, was a good day sign; this is already related. The third place was always a good time; it was a time of attainment of merit, as the readers of day signs told one. And Four

Auh in qujtoqujlia, vme mjqujztli, iuh qujtoa: amo qualli, atle vncā ca mācoalli. Auh in ey maçatl: iuh qujtoa qualli tonalli, ie omjto: in eitioaia muchipa qualcan, vncan ca tlacnopilhujlizzli in iuh qujcelihujaia tonalpouhque. Auh in navi tochtli, in tlanauhcaiotia tonalli, in nauhcaiopa tlavica, tlacem-

3. *Otlalmjc.* Ibid., "Y si el tal mercader muria, de su enfermedad."

4. Molina, *op. cit.* (Spanish-Nahuatl), *Lado derecho.*

5. The text reads *ce oçelotl*; it is correct in the *Real Palacio MS.*

Sixth Chapter, which telleth of drinking.[5]

As to drinking, there, also was a delusion of the ancients, somewhat like the account of stepping over one.

And in this wise was the account of it: when, perchance, one drank; if one yet a small child drank first, and afterwards one drank who was a little older, already grown, then [the elder] restrained and took the water from the small child. He said to him: "Why dost thou wish to drink first? Thou wilt not grow large, but remain small. Now let thy elder brother drink, for he is already bigger."[6]

Inje chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in atliliztli. 271

In jtechpa atlilitztli: no vncatca innentlacaviliz in 856
veveteque: çan ie achi no iuhquj in jtlatlatollo in tecuecuecholhujlitztli.

Auh ivin in, ca itlatlatollo: in jquac tla ie atli, in tle ie achto atli oc piltontli: auh intla çatepan atli in ie achi tachcauh, in ie quauhtic: njman qujtlacaoaltia, qujcujlia in atl in piltontli, qujlbuja: tle ipampa in achto tatliznequj, amo tiquauhtiez, çan ye tixqujchtontiez: ma oc ie conj in motiachcauh, achic ca ie quauhtic.

Seventh Chapter, which telleth of him who dipped into the cooking pot.

Of this there was also a delusion of the natives, known especially of the men. And in this wise was it known: when, perhaps, men ate, and one only dipped into the cooking pot — not into a sauce dish — then also the mothers and fathers restrained him. They said to him: "Do not dip into the cooking pot; there [in war] thou wilt leave thy captives. If thou goest to war, none wilt thou seize; no one will become thy captive."

Inje chiconse capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in aquja xocco ontlapaloa. 264

In jtechpa in: no vncatca innetlapololtiliz, in njcan tlaca: oc cenca intechpa mocaquj in toquichtin. Auh ivin in mocaquj: in jquac intla tlaqua toquichti: auh çan xocco, in ontlapalotica, amo molcaxic: njman no qujtlacaoaltia in tenanoan, in tetaoan, qujlhvia: macamo xocco xontlatlapalo, vncan tiquimoocaoa in momalhoan: intla tiaz iavc, aiac ticaciz, aiac momal muchioaz. 726

Eighth Chapter, which telleth of tamales stuck [to the cooking pot].

Concerning tamales stuck [to the cooking pot] as another deception of the natives, it was said that the men and women would not eat them. It was stated that if the men were to eat them, when they would shoot arrows in warfare, the arrow which was shot would not find its mark. Or perchance therefore they might die, or one's wife would with difficulty bear children.

And just so was it as to a woman. If she were to eat tamales which had stuck [to the cooking pot], she could not bear children. Her child would only adhere to and thus die in her womb. Therefore the mothers sternly forbade them to eat tamales which had stuck [to the cooking pot].

Inje chicuei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jxqujuhquj tamalli. 264

In jtechpa in jxqujuhquj tamallj: oc no centlamantli innentlacaviliz in njcan tlaca, qujlmach amo vel quiquaxque, in oquichtin, ioan cioa: qujlmach intla quiquaxque toquichti, amo axcan in quiçaz mjtl, injc qujmjnaxque iauc: auh anoçe ic mjquiz, yoan aixtcan tlacachioaz in juamic.

Auh çan ie no yuhquj in jtechpa cioatl: intla quiquaa ixqujuhquj tamalli, amo vellacachioaz: çan itech ixquivix in jconeuh, ic mjquiz in ijti: ipampa cenca quitecaoaltiaia in tenanoan, injc amo moquaz, in jxqujubquj tamalli.

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5. Corresponding Spanish text: *"quiere decir, hacer el mesmo, como del mesmo."*

6. *Ibid.*: *"si bebiese dos hermanos. Si el menor bevia primero, decialer el mayor: no beuas primero, que yo, porque el beuer primero, no crezcas: mas quedarte has, como eres agora."* See also Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 516: *"Acaso, se observaba, con que se reparaba . . . que el diferencia entre una persona, a otra, y otra."*